The Adolescent Girl Among Primitive Peoples

BY

MIRIAM VAN WATERS, A. M.

Fellow in Anthropology, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK UNIVERSITY, WORCESTER, MASS., IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, AND ACCEPTED ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN : : : : : : : : :

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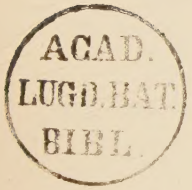

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OUTLINE

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The writer wishes to express deepest gratitude to those who have aided this work; to Dr. Alex. F. Chamberlain for constant encouragement and criticism; to Dr. Theodate Smith, and Dr. Louis N. Wilson; and to Mr. Gilbertson for references dealing with the Eskimo.

I. INTRODUCTION

This study grew out of an attempt to envisage clearly the problems centering in the adolescent girl in modern society. In the conflicting mass of evidence and opinion little was discovered upon which to base scientific results. Hence, it was found essential to place the foundation in the generic life of the race,

before attempting solutions of specific characters. In this reliance on a vast human background, the "recapitulation theory" is not, of necessity, assumed.

A. *Problem*

In dealing with the problem of the adolescent girl, from the anthropological point of view, we shall attempt to discover the primitive attitude toward the period of puberty in girls. We shall seek to present primitive theories of the physiological changes that attend this period, and their social and religious consequences. We then take up variation in degrees of attention paid to puberty in girls, and attempt to indicate some facts of the ethnological distribution of "puberty"-ceremonies. These range from complete non-observance, through varied intermediate degrees, up to a maximum of emphasis. Some constituent elements of "puberty"-ceremonies are set forth and classified as they relate to physical, esthetic, pedagogical, social or religious aspects. Next, the native explanations of these aspects are considered, in the hope of showing clearly and definitely the psychological factors that determine the observance of puberty in girls. The primitive attitude is further expressed in the amount of sex-discrimination present; this is analyzed into certain types and factors. Finally, some attempt is made to compare this material with data of a preliminary survey of the delinquent adolescent girl begun by the writer.

Thus the present problem limits itself to the attitude of primitive society toward the adolescent girl, not trying to solve the separate problem of the girl's reaction to this attitude, and the psychological factors therein involved.

B. *Method*

This study makes no claim to exhaustiveness. The data presented are characteristic of primitive peoples of widely different somatic and cultural types, and, hence, are representative of generic humanity. The method is necessarily comparative, rather than regional, but it has been attempted, first, to use reports only of trained observers; second, to supply from these reports sufficient context of religious and social status, to avoid misinterpretation. In addition, the method of native explanations has been introduced. This method cannot supply evidence of the origin and development of "puberty"-customs,

nor give support to theories, but it furnishes insight into the present significance of these customs in the mind of the people who practice them. Finally, it has been recognized that the term "puberty" applied loosely to anthropological material has little meaning. Physiological puberty varies with race, sex, climate, altitude, nutrition, heredity, social status, occupation, etc. Hence, we have no method of discovering whether "puberty"-ceremony and physical puberty coincide. Social "puberty" varies still more extensively, and may both precede and follow physical maturity. Hence, it should be remembered that we use the term "puberty" merely in a conventional sense.

II. General Discussion of Literature

Theories of the significance of adolescence among primitive peoples have been very numerous in this century of quickened interest in the child. It being impossible to present here a complete and coherent historical survey, we shall merely attempt to indicate some of the more important types.

A. *The Genetic Theory*

To Dr. G. Stanley Hall we chiefly owe the genetic concept of adolescence, and the genetic method of approach. This has been compared to a new Darwinism (*Amer. Anthrop.*, 1904, N. S. VI, 539). As applied to the adolescent girl, the recapitulation theory may have far-reaching consequences. President Hall thus seeks to explain physical and mental precocity in the growth-curve of girls by reference to past activities of the race:

> "It seems plausible, from what we know of savage races, phallicism, etc., that the female would at first be prematurely impregnated, at least as soon as she became attractive to the other sex, on account of the hypertrophied sex-passion in the human male, and would have been forced to assume maternal functions before nature had completed her preparations therefor. Many of the institutions of higher and even savage life, however, later came in that would tend to postpone fertilization. Thus, we should have an early stimulus of the reproductive function followed phyletically by a more or less gradual postponement of it. With this delay, the cell-development that had formerly gone to genesis would turn back to individuation. . . . On this view, part of the sudden and early increment in girls is a trace of ancient but now deferred maternity . . . now turned to personal augmentation by male restraint and female coyness." (35.1: 42.)

In our study of the girl among primitive peoples, we find little evidence of the predominance of the sexual element that would render this hypothesis probable, at least for uncivilized races now existing. Dr. Hall's further emphasis of religion in relation to the adolescent girl is amply illustrated by facts collected in the present survey. (35: 561-647.) The author's statement, however, that "the Madonna conception expresses man's highest comprehension of woman's real nature" (35. II: 627, 646), is probably not true of primitive humanity, though it may be of a specialized type. As an outcome of geneticism should be mentioned the Freudian theory of the development of sexuality in the individual. According to this school, sex-life is present at birth, manifesting itself in some form accessible to observation as early as the third year, or before. (28: 34.) The child passes through various levels of "polymorph-perverse Anlage," up to the period of adolescence, the latter portion of which is especially prone to neuroses, due to repressed desires of childhood (p. 44). For our present purpose, it suffices to say that this view renders the term "adolescence" and "puberty" of no significance, unless, indeed, we might describe puberty as the birthday of hysteria. According to Freud, it is this polymorphic perversity of the child that is most analogous to the sex-life of the primitive or uncultured woman (pp. 44-45). While the development of this instinct in the girl is always of a bi-sexual nature, at puberty her dangers are especially great, owing to repression (pp. 62, 69).

With Freud we should compare Havelock Ellis, who also accepts the genetic view, but does not adopt the theory of the unconscious. Ellis notes that it seems clear that nervous and psychic sexual activities have their first springs in early childhood, but it is probably true that the soundest and healthiest individuals show no definite signs till puberty. (20: 35.)

B. *Physical Theory*

The purely physical theory of "puberty"-customs has never obtained many supporters. Ploss explains thus the rite of circumcision as a primitive effort to assist nature, and analogous mutilations and physical ceremonies as derived phenomena.

Webster also uses this explanation of circumcision (93:37) and Hyrtl, Kisch, and, also, Broca, adopt this view, suggesting that, in case of girls, circumcision arose in localities where it was a physiological necessity (*Ann. de Gynéc.*, Paris, 1908, 1:485-487). Westermarck, and, to a certain extent, Ploss also, give the physical theory a broader application. Westermarck, in his chapter on "Means of Attraction," holds that the chief items in "puberty"-ceremonies are means taken by one sex to attract the attention and favor of the other. This same impulse to adorn and reveal is found among animals in the form of secondary sex-characters, due, not to sexual selection, in the Darwinian sense, but to natural selection based on the need of the sexes to find one another during the period of mating. (95:165-212.) Thus, decoration, mutilations, rites, and ceremonies of adolescence are analogous to the bright pigments, wattles, spurs, antlers, perfumes, etc., which the human race has lost the power of acquiring. Much, seemingly, may be said for this theory, but it fails to consider the profound religious and social stress placed by primitive peoples on puberty. It ignores, too, similar customs that take place at widely different stages of life of the individual, all of which cannot possibly relate to sex-attraction.

A specialized, fragmentary form of the physical theory has been suggested by Edward Tregear (*J. Anthr. Inst.*, Lond., 1895, vol. 25, pp. 87-88). He seeks to explain taboos, limitations, seclusion, and all forms of disability incurred by the adolescent girl, as due to the primitive recognition of need of rest and continence during periodicity. This was first sanctioned by religion, later it generated into meaningless customs and ideas of the defiling nature of menstruation. The author, as chief inspector of factories in New Zealand, has had opportunity to compare primitive and modern conditions in this respect and strongly advocates return to the former. As the male counterpart to this theory, Dall supposes rites of piercing, tattooing, labretifery, circumcision, etc., to be due to the custom of submitting the boy at puberty to tests of endurance. Later, this became a symbol of maturity, privilege and obligation to tribal rights, particularly the right to participate in sexual intercourse. When these rites were extended to women, it was because this symbol was recognized as a privilege granted in the course of advancing culture (*3d Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, pp. 80-81).

C. *Social Theory*

"Puberty"-ceremonies, as means of tribal or group incorporation, have been studied by Webster, Schurtz, Andree, Lippert, and others. Webster holds that puberty-rites formerly universal became the basis of all secret societies. The "men's house," thus created, became the center of tribal regulation, defence, medicine, art, religion. Seclusion of the uninitiated and women from the secret societies preserved tribal solidarity. The author remarks:

> "Puberty-institutions for initiation of young men into manhood are among the most widespread and characteristic features of primitive life." (93: 32.)

He adds (p. 45):

> "The various ceremonies which take place on the arrival of girls at puberty are distinctly less impressive than those of the boys; as a rule, there is no attempt at a formal initiation possessing tribal aspects and secret rites."

Webster's view, though very suggestive, does not account for all the facts of adolescent initiation. As van Gennep points out, Webster ignores comparison of rites from the point of view of sequence, and confuses physiological with social "puberty." (29: 93-94.)

Schurtz's valuable collection of facts leads him to a similar conclusion. By the "instinct of sociability," developing at puberty, and uniting the male sex into age-classes and groups, special social interests are served best. He does not attempt treatment of puberty-rites for the girl. (74.)

Thomas adopts these views. Secret societies, circumcision, initiation-ceremonies, tattooing, scarification, etc., are "devices by which men escape from the tyranny of the maternal system." They represent "first attempts to synthetize the male forces of the group." (92: 90.)

D. *Religion Theory*

This type of theory is associated with the names of Frazer, Crawley, Haddon, Spencer and Frobenius; the basis upon which all build is Tylor's conception of primitive animism. Frazer and Haddon regard "puberty-rites" as means taken by primitive man to assimilate himself to his totem. Mutilations, cicatrices, tooth-knocking, painting, etc., represent totemistic features upon

the human body. This view has been successfully opposed by Goldenweiser (33) from the side of totemism itself. Evidence to support it from data of "puberty"-ceremonies seems lacking, since the same rites exist where totemism is absent. Crawley holds the cause of these rites to be fear of contagion, and means taken to remove it; all persons of one sex are conceived as dangerous to the other, but especially so during sex-crises, such as puberty, childbirth, etc. (14:14.) Spencer proposed the idea of religious sacrifice, which later developed into the concept of a sacred part for continued well-being of the whole. (22. III: 65.) Frobenius maintains that "puberty"-ceremonies are the result of ancestor-cult and the desire to assimilate the novices to the condition of spirits.

These theories explain rites pertaining to sex on the basis of religion,—a new and extreme example of this type has been recently set forth, which seeks to explain all religion on the basis of sex-consciousness. Schroeder suggests that the beginning of self-conscious sex-life in the race marked the beginning of religious life. Phallic worship constituted the first historically known reverential rites. (73: 145.) So, "all religion, in its beginning, is a mere misinterpretation of sex-ecstacy," a kind of "psycho-sexual perversion." And, thus, "all puberty-ceremonies are explained from this point of view" (p. 125, pp. 145-146). But Schroeder's conclusion cannot possibly hold for the entire field; the vast majority of "puberty-rites" are not capable of explanation in this way.

A careful paper by Daniels emphasizes the religious point of attack from a wholly different angle. For him, initiation-rites are expressive of physiological and psychological changes at puberty. They show both the need and the natural generic predisposition toward the spiritual change formulated in the theological doctrine of regeneration. (15: 63.) The wealth of detailed facts supports this conclusion. But it is only when details of ceremonial are separated from the cycle in which they occur that they can be explained by a single principle. The matter is far more complex. For instance, the ceremonies of "re-birth" frequently take place during early childhood, and have no reference whatever to adolescent changes. Again, the same type of ritual may be used in the various stages of life of the individual.

E. *Sequence Theory. "Rites de Passage"*

Van Gennep was about the first to recognize this complexity. In a noteworthy book on primitive rites and ceremonies, he demonstrated the error of the old classification into "puberty"-rites, marriage-rites, etc., each explained independently on the basis of magic, animism, totemism, or any other theory. Primitive ceremonies, he maintained, must be studied from the point of view of sequence; they begin at the conception of the child, and follow him through life in unbroken series. Each rite may be interpreted as marking a passage from some stage to another; thus, each age, condition, change of status or occupation, submission to new masters or chiefs, entrance upon new situations, as well as physical passage over thresholds, openings, etc., is indicated by a "rite de passage." These often form a fixed whole, and can only be arbitrarily sectioned into detached ceremonies. (29: 93-163.) Dr. Ernst Samter (70) arrives at similar conclusions, and uses the sequence-method.

Thus, the impossibility of reducing ceremonies of primitive life to any one theory has been made evident. Recognition of the extreme degree of variation and complexity attending so vital a human period as adolescence is the first duty of a student in this field. We proceed to investigate what concepts primitive peoples themselves have held or now hold in regard to the puberty of girls.

III. Primitive Theories of Menstruation

In primitive thought, no less than in modern science, the phenomenon of menstruation has been fertile in theoretical explanations. These show the greatest variation, from the most direct and empirical to the most fantastic. The primitive solutions of this problem are intimately bound up with the attitude toward sex in general, and the social position of women. Particularly are they correlated with the treatment given the adolescent girl; yet here no distinctly causal relation can be maintained. Side by side with the theory that has the least to do with sex, or with mystery, may exist customs of seclusion, fasting and elaborate taboos (Shuswap; some Australian). Some of the chief types of menstruation-theories found among primitive peoples are briefly as follows.

A. *Asexual or Secondary Type*

The human element, as distinct from the purely sexual, has not been sufficiently emphasized in the study of primitive concepts of puberty. There is not always a sex-basis given even to the primary sex-characters themselves. A social-economic explanation, *e. g.*, has been thought of by the Shuswap for so elementary a sex-function as menstruation. In Teit's account of the Shuswap legend this is clearly seen:

"Formerly, the men menstruated, and not the women. When Coyote was working in the world, putting things to rights, he considered this matter, and said to himself, 'It is not right that men should menstruate. It is very inconvenient, for they do all the hunting, and most of the traveling. Women stay more at home, and, therefore, it will be better if they menstruate, and not the men.' Whereupon he took some of the menstrual fluid from men and threw it upon the women, saying, 'Henceforth, women shall menstruate, and not men.'" (89: 626-627.)

A crude approximation to modern biological theory might be traced in this conception of a state of affairs where sex is superimposed on a common asexual type. (Goodale, *Science,* Feb. 13, 1913.)

Similar in implication is a myth of the Northern Shoshone. Here, too, the periodic function has its source, not in attributes fundamental to a sex, but in mere chance (50: 239):

"In the beginning, Wolf wanted to make everything easy and pleasant for the Indians, Coyote tried to make them work hard, as they must do to-day. . . . Wolf said to Coyote, 'Let there be no menstruation.' Coyote thought it was proper that women should menstruate, so he took some blood and threw it at his daughter. She began to menstruate, and went to a menstrual lodge. . . . To-day things are as Coyote wished them."

It should be mentioned that, although the fact of menstruation is fortuitous, the custom of seclusion was the result of a volitional act on the part of a girl herself.

These two myths are sufficient illustration of the numerous widespread explanations that are comprised under the simple, incidental type. Psychologically related to this type are the direct, natural modes of treatment: rest, bathing, lying in sand or earth, change of garments and diet, variation in the usual activities; and, possibly, the customs of steaming, smoking, "roasting," etc.

B. *Absence of Theory, etc.*

It is commonly stated that all primitive peoples view menstruation as mysterious or unclean. Thus, Havelock Ellis observes (21 : 14-15) :

> "An important origin of the mystery which women have aroused in men, and even in themselves, lies in the periodic menstrual function. This function, unlike any normal physiological function in men, has been an everlasting source of marvel and of profound repugnance among all primitive races. They have been singularly unanimous on this point, and even seem to show a certain amount of unanimity in their explanations. . . . Everywhere, during the continuance of the flow, the women is regarded as more or less unclean."

Ploss, Crawley and Frazer give expression to the same opinion. It is true that ideas of mystery, impurity and the supernatural are somewhat widespread in primitive attitudes toward this function; but it can not be maintained, by any means, that such ideas are universal. The list of peoples having no "puberty"-rites, as well as no notion of mysticism in menstruation, includes primitive stocks like the Veddas, Todas, certain of the Bantu tribes, some Indians of California, etc., as well as the cultured Nambuthiris (representing Vedic Brahmanism). With this last group women are not required to keep aloof during menstruation, as other Brahman women. (42. II : 263, 288.) It is significant that the Indo-Malaysian intertropical lands, regarded by many ethnologists as the cradle of the human race, exhibit both types of attitude in their extreme degrees. Some of the Melanesians (*e. g.,* the Koita) have "no special ceremony when the catamenia first appear, nor is a girl at this time specially avoided, or considered especially dangerous." (75 : 140.) So, among the Orang Laut, no notice is taken of menstruation, nor do men avoid women in this condition. (81. 1 : 54.) Women of the Bontoc Igorot work, eat and sleep as usual. (43 : 700-703.) It will be seen in Section IV that this entire region occupies first place in the absence, or in the presence of minimum degrees, of attention to puberty. Coincident with this is the ten-year unmitigated seclusion of some of the girls of the New Britain group. Thus, in this limited and extremely ancient area, we see the complexity and variety of which the human race is capable in dealing with the phenomena of puberty. Assuredly, no dogmatic statements can be accepted, and it should be remembered that, even among the data we now

possess, it is the esoteric observances of puberty, and not the equally important common human attitude, that has been most frequently stressed. (Chamberlain, in *Science*, May 7, 1909, p. 743.)

C. *Sex-Emphasis*

A maximum degree of sex-examples is found in those theories which explain the first menstruation as a marriage, or as the result of union with some supernatural beings. In Cambodia, girls before puberty are called "*prohmocarei*, i.e., the chaste;" after puberty, they are believed to be the brides of Indra, and are described as those "who go into the shade." (Cabaton, in 22. 111:163). Among the Baganda of Africa, the first menstruation is called a marriage, and the girl is looked on as a bride, and is clothed and fed as such, though there is no evidence to show that actual marriage takes place at puberty. (66:80.) In the Baganda description of the girl as being "at peace" is found a curious echo of the Cambodian expression just noted. Among some peoples, the moon is held responsible for the first menstruation. Possibly there are traces here of primitive observation of the relation between periodicity and the lunar cycle. The Saibai, of Torres Sts., maintain that the moon, in the shape of a man, embraces the girl, when she is full-grown, and that the halo around the moon represents the girl's blood. (75:206.) The same story is told at Yam and Tutu, and is also found on the neighboring coast of New Guinea, and at Mawata (p. 207). Traces of this explanation appear in Australia.

The Siamese believe that evil spirits hover around the pubescent girl, and, by their intercourse with her, cause the wound from which she suffers each month. (Loubère, *Siam*, 1:203.)

There is much evidence for supposing that one of the psychological reasons for marriage before puberty (as distinct from economic and social reasons) is to be found in this belief in the supernatural cause of the first menstruation, and the desire to rob the deity of his privilege. Thus, failure to marry before puberty becomes as disgraceful as an illegitimate connection. Among the Nattu (Cochin), marriage is celebrated at the tenth year, and "a girl who has reached the age of puberty as a virgin is considered impure, and no person will take her as a

wife." (42. 1:32.) So, the father of a girl, who permits her to attain puberty before the arrangement of marriage, was punished among the ancient Hindus (Laws of Manu) as if he had committed an abortion. Frequently, throughout the Cochin district and elsewhere, this belief becomes crystallized into a ceremony independent both of marriage and of the puberty-rite. Among the Nayars (high-caste Sudras), girls undergo the "*tali*-tying ceremony" shortly before puberty. This ceremony, as described by Haddon, consists in tying the girdle of the girl with that of a man of suitable caste, chosen by her relatives. The ceremony involves the right of intercourse for four or five days, and is obligatory only for females. (42. 1:xv.) It is considered a religious impurity for a girl to attain puberty before the performance of this ceremony. The puberty-ceremony proper, however, may be put off to "a convenient day," though when it occurs, it is fairly elaborate. (42. II:22, 30.) Among the Kadupattans (p. 106), marriage occurs between the ages of ten and twelve, and, at puberty, there is ceremonial observance for four days, but the "*tali*-tying" ceremony must be performed before puberty, or caste will be lost. Here, the "puberty"-ceremony is by no means an initiation into sexual life, which occurs both before puberty and before marriage, and is seemingly determined by a belief that the first menstruation is, in itself, a form of marriage.

A similar state of affairs exists with the primitive Todas, who have no "puberty"-ceremonies for either sex. Here, the girl is betrothed or married in infancy; shortly before puberty, a man of an outside clan must cover her with his mantle. Fourteen or fifteen days later, a strong man, of any clan but her own, must have intercourse with her, and this "must take place before puberty . . . . . few things are regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period." (65:103.) For these and analogous customs there are, without doubt, numerous factors of explanation, but the theory of the sexual origin of menstruation probably plays the dominant *rôle*.

Somewhat differently, the same theory is involved in certain types of circumcision ceremonies and mutilations, and in the custom of religious prostitution. We have no evidence that these modes of treatment are primitive. They occur, apparently,

as secondary developments, under the influence of religion, magic, caste and the like. Borrowing may here be a factor of the greatest importance. For instance, Iver notes of the Nayar "*tali*-tying ceremony" that, although there is a modern tendency for the withdrawal of the ceremony, it is kept up for the sake of social distinction, for, originally, it was borrowed from the Brahmans, "in the belief that it would lead to social distinction." (42. II: 29.) Similar instances are numerous. Thus, religion, in combination with a belief in the sexual origin of menstruation, may bring about extreme modes of treatment. Some theorists have sought the origin of circumcision in the notion of religious offering or dedication. Circumcision thus becomes a sacrifice.

Here, we are clearly outside the domain of facts, for, as will become evident in the list of native explanations of "puberty"-ceremonies, the idea of sacrifice is nowhere mentioned by primitive peoples themselves. Nevertheless, in the case of the circumcision of girls, the theory of sacrifice has some justification. Bearing in mind that the first menstruation is sometimes held to be a marriage, the ceremony of circumcision might there be conceived as a sacrifice or offering of the girl to the supernatural being who had first espoused her. Fantastic as this appears, it is not far from the facts in the case of religious prostitution as practiced by some of the ancient Semites. (Macler, in 19. 1: 797.) The same idea may lurk in the Phenician religious ceremonial before marriage, where, at the feast of Bylus, the bride must sacrifice either her hair or her virginity. (15: 67.) The Australian rite of "Atna-Ariltha" must be explained from several points of view, if, indeed, it can be adequately explained. However, the presence here of the theory of the sexual origin of menstruation, held by certain of the South-East tribes, furnishes a highly suggestive coincidence. (85: 93.)

The complexity of the problem appears when we consider a similar type of mutilation, formerly practiced by the Volans, a fishing-caste of the Cochin district. Here, the custom prevails of "*theralikka,*" or "causing" the girl to attain maturity. After the operation, it is announced that the girl has reached puberty, and seclusion and ceremonial are gone through with. The girl is now marriageable. The object of the custom is stated

to be to relieve the parents of the support of the girl. It is important to note that *"theralikka"* is now being abandoned by the Volans *because of the health of the girls.* Here, the primary cause of the custom was economic, not sexual, and the reason for its withdrawal physiological. It is a serious mistake, therefore, to group all phenomena of a seemingly sex-origin under a common heading.

The sex-emphasis type of theory occurs with the least frequency, and has the narrowest range of ethnological distribution in comparison with other types of theory. Its importance lies chiefly in the light it tends to shed on extreme modes of treatment of the girl at the period of puberty.

D. *The External Mark of Social Maturity*

The first menstruation frequently marks the social maturity of the girl, as among certain peoples, circumcision, slaying of the first animal or warrior, etc., do for the boy. This maturity may be tacitly expressed by the widespread custom of change of dress or ornaments, such as the insertion of labrets (Déné and Salish Indians), completion of the last tattooing (Fiji and some of the pagan tribes of the Malay Peninsula), admission to the women's club-house (Bontoc Igorot), or to secret societies, hereditary or acquired fraternities, such as the Kotikili of the Zuñi (86:103), etc., or by undertaking the business of some profession, such as shamanism, etc. Thus, among the Subanuns of Sindangan Bay (Philippine Islands), where the only attention paid to puberty is change to adult garments, the women who are to be shamans assume their religious and medical functions at puberty. (13:54, 71-73.) The same is true of some of Algonkian Indian tribes, where the girls designed to become "medicine-women" have been subjected to hard usage since childhood, take up their profession at the period of puberty. (Owen, in 22. 1:323.)

The Korean capping-ceremony, as originally carried out, united several phases of maturity. It did not, however, occur always at the onset of puberty, being sometimes delayed until the fifteenth year. Here, we see ceremonial and impressive change of dress, re-naming and presentation to ancestors, together with the assumption of adult responsibility. This is all

expressed in a formula of blessing, which was the same for both sexes. (49.)

Some actual external sign of social maturity may be given the girl at the first menstruation. The Papuans of Yule Island give the girl a large knit carrying-bag, as token of her maturity; thus, "with woman, a bag means womanhood; a boy, when he gets his first bag, becomes a loafer, a girl becomes a worker." (Van Goethem, in *Anthropos,* 1912, vol. 7, 792-795.)

This emancipation from childhood may be expressed symbolically. The Uniche Veddas have borrowed the custom of seclusion from the Sinhalese, but have added a variant. At the first menstruation, a pot of water is placed on the girl's head by a female relative. They proceed to a *nuga*-tree, where the pot is dashed to pieces. (77:94.) With this may be compared the breaking of a glass or dish at the marriage-ceremony of the Cochin Jews, and similar rites. (42. II:410.)

With the Melanesians of Wagawaga, puberty marks the first time when individuals of both sexes may eat human flesh. (76:559.) The removal of taboos, restrictions and limitations in general frequently occurs automatically at puberty. Thus, among the Cochin Chedans, the girl, before puberty, "cannot eat meat, nor touch any vessel or food in the house of her husband's family." (42. II:370.)

Vows made by the girl's parents in her behalf at birth, of achievement, sacrifice, occasionally involving suicide, etc., are frequently carried out at puberty. (12:30.)

A similar explanation of the significance of puberty seems to be indicated in the frequent customs of leaving home, setting out on a journey alone, disapppearance, etc. Daniels (15) refers to this in connection with boys only, but the custom is by no means confined to them. The Maidu of California pay a maximum of attention to the social aspects of puberty in girls, and the initial step in their ceremonial is the disappearance of the girl into the hills at the onset of the first menstruation. (18:236.) With the Naga tribes of Manipur, the girl is tattooed at puberty, at which time she leaves home and resides in another village. (Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur,* Lond., 1911, p. 31, p. 145.) Many other examples might also be cited.

Frequently, however, this arrival at social maturity is expressed in definite terms. The girl may be given complete

freedom. At puberty, the Lolos of Kientchang, in western China, give the girl absolute liberty,—"care is completely devolved on her;" she is free to come and go, to be absent for long periods, to visit her distant relatives, etc. (Legendre, in *Rep. Smiths. Inst.*, 1912, pp. 569-586.) Nordenskiöld reports of the South American tribes of the Rio Pilcomayo (Ashluslays, Chorotis, etc.) that, after the first menstruation, the girls are absolutely free in the community. (60:78.) Koch-Grünberg observed the same facts among the girls of certain tribes of northwestern Brazil. (46:91, 100.) This freedom, dating from the first menstruation, must not be confused with the freedom of sex-intercourse sometimes given to youth of both sexes until marriage. It frequently happens that the people who give the largest freedom to the adolescent girl hold irregular sexual relations in abhorrence, and maintain a high degree of chastity, as do, *e. g.*, the Lolos.

The onset of puberty, as marking social maturity and freedom in their highest degrees, is found among the Seri Indians of the Gulf of California. After the puberty-feast, and the painting of the girl's face with designs that are hereditary in the female line, the girl is free to marry, or to use her power of veto over offers of marriage. Pending deliberations, her kinswomen may erect for her a special house (*jacal*), where she may receive "the most intimate attentions from the clan-fellows of the groom." The groom now enters upon a probationary period, during which he must give proof of his fitness in hunting and in rigorous self-control:

> "During this period, the always dignified position occupied by the daughter of the family culminates; she is the observed of all observers, the subject of gossip among matrons and warriors alike . . . through his (the groom's) energy she is enabled to dispense largess with lavish hand, and, thus, to dignify her clan and honor her spouse . . . and, at the same time, she enjoys the immeasurable moral stimulus of realizing that she is the arbiter of the fate of a man who becomes warrior or outcast at her bidding, and, through him, of the future of two clans, *i.e.*, she is raised to a responsibility in both personal and tribal affairs, which, albeit temporary, is hardly lower than that of the warrior chief."

Dr. McGee remarks further, "the moral test measures the character of the man; in every fact, it at the same time, both measures and makes the character of the woman." At the end of the probationary year there is a marriage-feast, and the

groom "enters his bride's *jacal* as perpetual guest; while the bride passes from a half-wanton heyday into the duller routine of matronly existence." (56:11, 165, 280-283. Comp. 55:371-383.)

E. *Supernatural Type: Theories of Impurity, Mystery, etc.*

The wide dimensions and numerous subdivisions of this type of primitive attitude toward puberty are too complex to be adequately summed up in the following brief account. A few tendencies, merely, can be indicated. Since the majority of writers in this field emphasize the attitude of "impurity," "uncleanness," horror and the like, it may be well to take up this aspect first.

1. Theory of Impurity

By artificial analysis only can the idea of impurity of this function be distinguished from mystery, since the two are almost everywhere interrelated. As we shall see, in dealing with "Sex Discrimination," the taboos enforced upon the adolescent girl do not differ in kind from those imposed on various other social types, such as warriors, priests, mourners, invalids, pregnant women, fathers and husbands, shamans, students, adolescent boys, and a comprehensive list of individuals passing from one stage of life, or station, to the other, as shown by van Gennep, and, later, by Samter. The "impurity" incurred by the girl at puberty is not, then, an isolated instance, but must be studied in relation to the complex problem of sacred objects and taboo-violation. Hence, it may be pointed out that all the cases cited by Ploss, under the heading "Menstrual blood as impure" (62. 1:249-267), as well as innumerable other instances, may, more fittingly, be cited under "Menstrual blood *as taboo.*"

As Jevons remarks, when a thing is taboo, it is charged with mysterious energy; "the action of taboo is always mechanical; contact with the tabooed object communicates the taboo-infection . . . . . the intentions of the taboo-breaker have no effect upon the action of the taboo." (Cited in 96. 1:233.) Instead of the action of taboo being mechanical, it seems to resemble such biological phenomena as the infection of bacteria. This infection may pertain to the most sacred and holy objects, mere touching of which demands ceremonial purification," no less searching

than that relating to menstruation. For details of purification required after touching sacred animals, sacrifices, etc., one may consult Frazer. (26. II: 27-29.)

Ploss gives numerous examples of the feeling of impurity of menstruation in the ancient world, but omits many striking cases where no such feeling is present. (62. 1: 255-259.) Until touched by Mohammedanism, the races about the Mediterranean seem to have had no special regard for this function. The Vedic Brahmans (represented by the Nambuthiris) did not seclude their women, nor regard menstruation as unclean; and their spiritual descendants keep up this primitive attitude in the midst of a district where the idea of impurity is almost universal. (42. II:288.) The Laws of Manu took notice of menstruation only where the girl, on reaching puberty, was unmarried. So, among the Syrians, though we have no direct evidence as to the most ancient customs, it is probable that the Syrians in the Cochin district, who, in other respects, hold to their primitive conditions, are representative in this matter also. Here, at the first menstruation, and thereafter, there is no seclusion, nor impurity; the girl "conducts herself in such way that nobody knows anything about it" (p. 448).

Passing to the modern world, we note both presence and absence of the idea of impurity in widely different areas; the latter has been, for the most part, ignored. Ploss states that the belief that menstruation is impure goes all through Africa. (62. 1: 263.) That this is far from the facts can be seen by reference to the list of African tribes that pay no attention to puberty, some of them the most primitive. There is, moreover, some evidence that *absence* of menstruation is considered impure, or malign. With the Baganda, the girl in whom this function was absent had a pernicious influence on gardens, and was subject to certain restrictions. Her husband, before he went to battle, pierced her slightly with his spear; otherwise, he would be sure to fall. (66: 80.) So, with the Cochin Devangas, the girl before puberty is subject to food-restrictions, and is not permitted to touch food, or any vessel in the house of her husband's family. (42. II: 370.) Among the Endo-speaking peoples of Nigeria, the girl undergoes no seclusion, while mourners are held in superstitious dread, and are subject to numerous restrictions. (Thomas, *Endo-Speak. Peoples of Nig.*,

Lond., 1910, pp. 28-29.) The peoples of Abyssinia (Negroid, Semitic and Hamitic), under the influence of conflicting and borrowed religions, recognize an elaborate ceremonial uncleanness, and go to extreme degrees of protecting chastity, such as infibulation and circumcision. Here is noted the "unbounded influence of the cult of the Virgin and a pagan goddess." (Littmann, in 19. 1: 58.) Among the Bantu Bondei, girls are secluded for twelve days, and, in their "puberty"-ceremonial there is a maximum of beating, burning and reviling, physical operations, etc., with the object of purifying the girl, and preparing her for marriage. (Dale, in *J. Anthrop. Inst.*, Lond., vol. 25, p. 193.) This author notes that the ceremony is not so elaborate now as formerly. While it might appear that the maximum sex-emphasis was withdrawing under the influence of civilizing contact, on the other hand, it is interesting to note that circumcision, etc., is a late development among the Bantu. (Thomas, in 22. II: 52.) Similarly, it is held that their warlike qualities are of recent origin.

With the Nandi of East Africa, girls are secluded two months and undergo intricate rites of purification, yet, in the course of their circumcision-ceremony, they wear the garments, implements and decorations of the warriors, showing that their condition is not considered impure. When these are thrown away, it is because the girl has winced during the operation, or has failed to pass certain ordeals of courage, and not because of uncleanness. (Hollis, *The Nandi*, Lond., 1909, pp. 57-82.) The long seclusion of the girls of the Vaï of Liberia in the "greegree bush," for pedagogical and social instruction, carries with it no idea of impurity; exactly the same kind of seclusion is undergone by the boys. (9. II: 308-314. Cf. II: 729-754.)

The Mendi have a special ceremony relating to simulated death and resurrection of adolescents, who are believed to be under the influence of the devil, and in need of purification. (61. II: 718.) But this purification extends to boys as well as girls, hence, it can be no indication of belief in impurity of menstruation.

Among African peoples who subject the girl to some sort of taboo, because of her unclean condition, are the Kafirs, with whom she is forbidden to touch or drink milk, though she is not secluded, nor is any special attention paid to her. (Kidd,

Savage Childhood, Lond., 1906, p. 103.) With boys, however, all clothes and everything touched during the seclusion of two or three months must be burned. (Kidd, *The Essent. Kafir,* 1904, p. 208.)

Australia presents the theory of impurity in its extremest form. During menstruation, the girl is kept half-a-mile from camp. She wears boughs of some tree of her totem, to warn men of her condition. She is constantly watched and guarded,—"the reason for this is the dread with which they regard the menstrual period of women." If a man should see a woman in this condition, he would die, and the woman would be killed, if she let herself be seen. (41: 776-777.) Yet the red clay and ocher deposits, highly esteemed for decorative purposes, are attributed to the catamenia of two supernatural women, who formerly traveled over that district. (85: 442-464.) The same fluid is believed also to possess medicinal and invigorating properties. Evidence for this belief elsewhere may be found in Ploss. (62. 1: 267-268.) It would be interesting to trace the primitive forshadowing here of glandular therapy in modern scientific experimentation.

Turning to Asia, we find the greatest contrasts, from the complete indifference of the Veddas, to the elaborate modes of purification in the Cochin district. The Chams celebrate puberty in girls with a two-days festival, followed by three months of seclusion, purification, etc. The girl is not considered impure; her social position is that of all Cham women the highest after the priests. (Cabaton, in 22. III: 345.) Very generally in the Cochin district, the girl is believed to be assailed by demons at the time of puberty. These are guarded against, or expelled, by seclusion, fasting, bathing, processions, purification by the priest, offerings, magic, exorcism, etc. The Chedans place a special twig against the menstrual hut. (42. II: 372.) The Kakkalans pay a magician, or *panan,* who uses exorcism, if necessary (p. 381). The Kammalans bathe constantly during seclusion, and, when it is ended, the caste-priest cleans the room, purifying it with water and cow-dung. (42. 1: 345.) Among the Kaniyans, the girl, on the first day of menstruation, becomes outcasted, "*chandalini,*"—she is unclean and abhorred. At each recurring period, she is secluded, must eat no meat, must wear no ornaments or flowers; she must not clean her teeth or

chew betel-leaves; she must use no scent; she must not weep, nor sleep in the day-time. At the end of her four-day seclusion, after the first menstruation, she is bathed, dressed in cloth dyed yellow with turmeric; there is a feast with music, dancing, and elaborate ceremonial. The girl makes an offering of a triangular bark-figure, decorated with cocoanut-leaves and lighted candles, and sprinkled with the blood of a fowl; this is floated down the stream or tank, after washing. During seclusion, the girl is visited only by her girl friends, but, at the end of the period, a woman waves a vessel with water and lime and turmuric powder around the girl's face, to drive out demons. Four pieces of bread are thrown by a woman to the four corners of the house, to invoke the blessing of the deities of the four cardinal points. (42. 1: 200-207.) But even here, where impurity is so much emphasized, the function is also conceived as possessing peculiar supernatural value. Parents of the girl, at the first appearance of puberty, consult Hindu astrologers, who predict the girl's entire career from the nature of the blood-drops (p. 203). Among the Oddens, girls are secluded fifteen days is a special hut, in which are placed iron and magic plants, to warn off demons. A fowl is killed on the seventh day, waved in front of the girl, and then thrown away. She must bathe in water which has passed through a seive. Eggs are eaten, but she must not eat meat, for fear of demons. (42. II: 391.) Among some of the Pulayants is found the belief that the menses are caused by demons. At the end of seven-days seclusion, seven cocoanuts are broken, and the milk poured over the girl's head. Gifts are distributed to seven girl friends, and to the caste men. A special singing ceremony is performed, with pipe and drum accompaniment, by a paid assistant, to cast out demons. The girl leaps with frantic movements, if possessed with demons, which are driven into a tree and nailed down by the priests. Offerings are then hung upon the nail. If the girl has no demons, she stands still during the ceremony. (42. 1: 98-99.)

Among the Pullavans, the girl friends of the novice make these offerings, which have power to release the girl from the influence of demons (p. 146). Among the Tamil Brahmans, there is seclusion, but the idea of impurity is not apparent. Announcement is sent to the girl's friends, who come to visit her; she

stands on a grass mat, is dressed in red, and has a red mark placed on her forehead. She and her friends are sumptuously feasted; later, there is music and a procession. The girls are paid for their services. (42. II: 291.) The Velans secluded the girl in one part of the family hut for four days, and consider her in a state of pollution. An important element in the ceremony, however, is the singing of puberty-songs by all the caste men. A legend, told by the Velans, illustrates the curious mixture of ideas of impurity, the supernatural and the beautiful, that may center in this function, even with so poor and miserable a people:

> A girl, during her period, was standing by a stream, lamenting the spoiling of her cloth. She implored the aid of the god, Parameswara, who suddenly appeared. He sprinkled water upon the cloth, which flew into the sky, and became a beautiful constellation. From a few more drops, sprinkled by the god, a man appeared, to whom was assigned the duty of washing clothes for the girls during menstruation. (42. 1: 156-157.)

Among the Indians of North and South America, the girl, at the beginning of puberty, is rarely regarded as impure in the same sense as with the people of the Cochin district. Her closeness to supernatural powers is recognized, and the importance of what she does at this period is strongly emphasized, but the taboos and restrictions, which are placed upon her, spring from social, religious and pedagogical motives, instead of isolated belief in the impurity of menstruation. Certain traces of this theory, however, do occur. Among the Carrier Indians (Déné), Morice reports that the pubescent girl is called "sak oesta," i. e., the "one that stays apart," while the father of the girl distributes gifts, "to wash out his shame." (58. V: 975.) Among other peoples, the custom of gift-distribution at the girl's puberty-ceremony is described as caused by the desire to set a good example to the girls, to make them generous, etc. (Cf. the *potlatch* of the N.W. tribes, etc.) With certain of the other Dénés, the girl is rigorously secluded, and called "asta," while in confinement, or "she that stays in a hole." Her seclusion may last from one to three years; fish and meat are taboo; and her magic defilement of game is so great that she must not bathe in streams or lakes during this period. We learn, however, that the same taboos are imposed upon warriors for their first four campaigns. If a youth is weak

or delicate, the adolescent girl is called upon to tattoo lines on his wrists or ankles, as a therapeutic measure (pp. 971-975, p. 978). Hence, we see that the attitude toward the girl is not solely that she is impure, because of her condition. With the Maidu of California, as with many other peoples, the girl is subject to a limited seclusion, *i. e.*, she emerges at certain periods, to mingle freely with the guests and relatives, who attend the puberty-festival. During the day, she remains within the menstrual hut, or receives training in the forest; at night, she is free to dance, sing and feast. (18: 233.) Later, the husband of the girl, during her menstruation, must live on the same food that she does, and is debarred from hunting (p. 239).

Consequences of violation of the menstrual taboo shed some light upon the attitude toward this function. The Aleuts (of Eskimoan stock) seclude the girl for seven days, and strictly prohibit any man from seeing her. Violation of this taboo by men is a common folk-lore *motif*, the offender being usually the brother. On being pursued, they jump into the sea and become the first sea-otters, or other animals. (Chamberlain, in 19. 1: 303.) Thus they become, though outcast, the source of benefit to the people; in other words, they are punished, but are not objects of loathing. In the legends of the Coos Indians, we find the girl as source of a new food-supply, or culture-factor; before this occurs, she is always subject to some unusual event or influence; she refuses to marry, or violates some custom of her people. Then she disappears, and the people find whales in the sea, an abundance of deer in the forest, etc. (St. Clair, in *J. Amer. Folk-Lore*, 1909, v. 22, p. 25.) The taboo-*motif* is not so explicit here, as is the recognition of value in the unconventional, or unusual quality in the girl herself. It is the primitive counterpart of the *rôle* in the folk-lore of civilized races played by the "virgin" or the "virgin's son."—as Havelock Ellis points out, the word "virgin" applied to a woman who preferred to remain outside the patriarchal family, among the ancient "Aryans," thus violating convention. (20: 165.) Frequently such a character is attributed to female deities. Violation of menstrual taboo among the Shoshone Indians is followed by death. If a man, or even a woman, should see the girl during her menstrual seclusion, they would sicken and die by vomiting. (50: 214.) This represents the extreme form

of belief in impurity, yet, as we have already seen, the Shoshone attribute menstruation to the causal act of Coyote, who with this people, as often elsewhere, plays the *rôle* of half-god or culture-hero.

2. Theory of Mystery

In the attitude of mystery toward the girl, we distinguish two main types. In one, the girl is influenced, during this period, by mysterious forces, is surrounded by a peculiar atmosphere, that may affect her entire life. These forces may work the greatest injury, or insure her success for the future. Everything that she does, or is done to her, has a determining effect upon her future condition. The actions of others, even apart from her, may influence the result. In the other type, the girl is the *source* of these mysterious forces, or the medium through which they flow. She is the involuntary, or voluntary cause of danger or well-being to others. The social fact of her condition is the one emphasized. Both kinds of attitude may, of course, occur among the same people, and even in the same ceremony. But each has been given separate expression. A few typical illustrations will be sufficient.

Among the African A-Kamba, "a girl's first menstruation is a very critical period of her life." If this condition appears while she is at work in the fields, she must return home immediately treading on grass, never on a path, for, if a stranger should accidentally "tread on the spot of blood, and then cohabit with a member of the opposite sex, before the girl was better again, it is believed that she would never bear a child." She will also be doomed to perpetual sterility, unless, when her period is over, her mother has ceremonial intercourse with her father. (39 : 65.) The Anyanya have a special re-naming ceremony, in order to deceive spirits, who seek to obtain possession, but always call the victims by the childish name. (94 : 124-128.) Belief in the necessity of death and resurrection ceremonials to circumvent the baneful influence of spirits at the period of adolescence is widespread in Africa, as Ploss notes. (61. II : 717-718.) Ceremonies of re-birth are common. (15.) Among the A-Kikuyu, however, the ceremony of re-birth is not a puberty-rite, but is undergone by both sexes between the ages of five and eight, and must be accomplished before circumcision. (Routledge, *With a Prehist. People*, Lond., 1910, p. 151.) We must

guard, therefore, against the assertion that all rites of this sort are related to puberty. Acquisition of special deities, or guardian spirits, by girls, at the time of first menstruation, indicates the native belief in the need of peculiar safe-guards at this period. Both the Ashanti and the Cross River tribes of Southern Nigeria believe in this supernatural protection. Partridge, *Cross R. Natives,* Lond., 1905, pp. 169-216.) In general, it seems that the supernatural type of theory appears only sporadically in Africa, the attitude being, for the most part, that this function marks the beginning of a period of training, which is now especially efficacious.

In Asia, the most complete type of supernatural belief is found in the rites of divination practiced in the Cochin district, and among the ancient Hindus. Here, a mysterious affinity is supposed to exist between the girl's destiny and the nature of the first menstruation. An elaborate sort of horoscope is drawn up, on the basis of the roundness, squareness, irregularity, thickness, size, color, etc., of the blood-drops. This is described in great detail by Iyer. (42. 1: 203-207. See also Kisch, *Sexual Life of Woman,* N. Y., 1910.)

Among the American Indians, the culmination of the supernatural attitude is reached, although extreme modes of treatment are not equally common. Some peoples, as do the Delaware Indians, believe that the soul enters the body, or becomes mature, only at puberty. During childhood it is weak and timid, and only later arrives at independence. Belief that the first menstruation is caused by the bite of a snake is reported by Nordenskiöld from the Chiriguano and Mataco Indian of the Gran Chaco (60: 107, 210), and by Koch-Grünberg from some of the tribes of Brazil. 46: 91-100.) Ploss cites similar beliefs from British Guiana, New Guinea, Portugal, certain parts of Germany, etc. (62. 1: 251.) Sometimes it is not a snake, but another reptile, such as the lizard, crocodile, etc. Among the Tupian Chiriguanos of Bolivia, during the girl's seclusion, women beat the walls with sticks in order to drive away "the snake that has wounded her," according to a missionary account cited by Crawley. (14: 10.) The women of the Cariban Macusi Indians fear to go into the forest during menstruation for dread of a snake, who may assume the *rôle* of lover (62. II: 334.) Certain Australians are said to attribute menstruation to the scratch of

a bandicoot. (*J. Anthr. Inst.*, v. 24, p. 177.) In New Britain, it is traced to the bite of a sacred bird, or other supernatural being. (62. II: 330-334.) It is not clear whether the wound has been given through love or malevolence; it inspires feelings of profound mystery, and causes the girl to be treated as half invalid and half shaman.

A rare direct reference to the physiological relation between menstruation and child-bearing occurs with the Yuchi Indians and is touched with the supernatural. The Yuchi attribute their origin to the Sun deity, who was in her period; some blood fell to the ground, she looked, and a small baby was sitting there,—"this was the father of the Indians, who are Yuchi, children of the sun." Both the girl and the husband are subject to restrictions, must eat on dishes which are subsequently broken, must touch no common property; the girl is secluded in a menstrual hut. In the initiation ceremony of the boys, and an important rite at other times for all males. is scarification until blood falls to the ground. This is symbolical of the Sun-Mother's blood, from which the first Yuchi was created. (83: 96, 106-115.) Here, the supernatural element is clear; taboos follow from this "mystery," and not from uncleanness of the menstrual function.

The numerous ways in which the two types of supernatural forces may operate will become more apparent in the list of native explanations of "puberty"-customs. A few typical cases may be cited now. Among some of the Prairie tribes of Algonkian stock, girls may be subjected to hard usage during childhood, and at puberty go through ordeals, especially those who will become shamans. A girl, by this usage, becomes a healer, and the bringer of good-fortune to her people; she ensures to women safe-delivery in child-birth. (Owen, in 22. 1: 323.) Among the Athapaskan Indians of the South-West, when the girl arrives at puberty, there is an important ceremony, in which the girl and a boy dramatically represent for four nights the culture-hero, and his grandmother. The story of the racial origin is enacted; the girl becomes Yolkaiisdzan, the "holy girl." This ceremony is performed, "to bring good fortune to the whole community" and to secure for the girl a happy and honorable life. It is by far the most important social event of these tribes. (30: 168-171; 31: 266-268.)

With the Shasta Indians of California, the adolescent girl is of the utmost significance to the whole people. The Shastan puberty-ceremony for girls is one of the most elaborate in the world:

> For ten days the girl is secluded; she wears a blue-jay feather headdress, so that she cannot see the sun or moon, she must use a scratch-stick, must not let her feet touch the earth, she must not come near a fire, nor see people; she must not hurry, nor get excited; she is subject to numerous food-regulations, she must drink only water that has been warmed and into which a little clay has been stirred. She must sleep very little, and only just before dawn. She must sleep with her head in a basket, or cap, to obviate bad dreams; a small stick is placed across the end to keep off evil spirits, and each day this is burned and renewed. All the time she is in the hut she must sit facing the east, holding a deer-foot rattle in her hand and shaking it from time to time. Toward the end of the strict seclusion, a mitigated seclusion for another ten days begins. Each day the girl goes into the mountains for firewood for the festivities, and for each family in the village; each night there is a dance and feast for all the neighboring villages; the girl must dance constantly; when she is exhausted, she is supported, and, as the nights wear on, she becomes more and more in need of support, through fasting, hard daily work and excitement. On the last night complete license is given to both sexes. Finally, the ceremony culminates in a war-dance, danced by all; the girl and her mother bathe, and are given entirely new clothes. The ten-day ceremony is repeated for the next two periods, during which the entire community is kept at the parents' expense; only at the end is the girl declared marriageable.

In addition to the social stress, the supernatural element is most vividly present:

> "Whatever she dreams of during this period she confides to her mother, and all of these dreams are bound to come true. Should she be so unfortunate as to dream of the death of any person in the village, or of a general conflagration, the only way the calamity can be averted is to burn the unfortunate girl alive. . . . This sacrifice has several times been made. The girl is decked with all the finery the family possesses, and made to leap into the center of a huge fire built by members of the family." (17: 457-461.)

With the Tlingit Indians, the girl had power to influence the luck of a fisher, hunter or gambler, and she could turn objects to stone. She was peculiarly close to the world of spirits; if a near relative had recently died, she fasted for eight days, on reaching puberty, and lived a "quiet life" for eight months thereafter; this would ensure the re-birth of the dead individual in the girl's first child, though her marriage might not take place

for some time. (Swanton, in *26th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.,* pp. 393-485.)

This belief, that the girl is close to the powers of life and death, is found in other parts of the world as well. In New Caledonia, though there are no puberty-rites, if the chief is ill, when the girl reaches maturity, she is severely beaten, in order to drive evil away from him. (MacCulloch, in 22. II: 229.)

So, among the Greenland Eskimo, if the girl wishes her child to be small, she wears at puberty a kittiwake-head sewed into her clothes, for this bird lays very small and beautiful eggs. (Lowie, in 19. III: 401.) A taboo among the Siouan Assiniboine illustrates the native belief in danger to the girl herself of too near an approach to "mystery." For the first four days, the girl is secluded; her clothes are then burned, and her dishes thrown away, but there are no food-restrictions, nor subsequent menstrual seclusion. The one taboo is that she must never go into a house where a "medicine-bundle" is kept; if she violated this, she would continue to menstruate indefinitely. (Lowie, in *Anthrop. Pap. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.,* N. Y., 1909, p. 39.) Among the Lillooet, Thompson and Shuswap Indians (Salishan) of British Columbia, the conception of the period of puberty as the crucial opportunity for spiritual influences that will determine the course of the girl's life, both personal and racial, reaches a very high and thoroughly human expression. Here, the various aspects of puberty, physical, esthetic, pedagogical, religious and social, receive effective emphasis, without over-strain. With these peoples, both sexes go into training, the lads, when the voice begins to break, remaining from one to eight or ten years; the girls, at the first menstruation, for a period of not less than one year, nor more than four years, "*according to their own inclinations,* or the wish of their parents." The part played in primitive "puberty"-ceremonies by the volition of the girl herself is usually ignored by writers on this topic, yet, as in this case, it is often the determining factor. One object of training is to secure a *manitou,* or guardian spirit. Twins, however, do not train to acquire *manitous,* as they have them already. (89: 589.)

After the first menstruation, and during the long training, the girl is considered "mystery." She lives in a small lodge, conical in shape, built of fir-branches, and apart from her people. She eats sparingly, fasting for long periods; she sleeps little, usually in the early morning.

While she is in her lodge, she constantly busies herself with the manufacture of small articles, baskets, bags, mats, bead and feather work, and she manufactures twine, and various kinds of leather objects; all these are hung in the trees, near the lodge, or at the crossing of two trails. She goes through the operations of skin-dressing, and plucks fir-needles as fast as possible, in order to make her fingers nimble. Practice of all the arts and industries required of her in future years is believed now to have a peculiarly effective value. At dusk, she wandered about, and spent every night in the mountains, praying, running, leaping, climbing trees, gathering firewood, digging trenches, occasionally lighting signal-fires, practicing carrying heavy burdens, etc. She would climb to the top of great firs and break off the tops, that her son might be strong and skilful. She played with gambling-sticks, so that her future husband might have luck. At day-break, she bathed in running water, washing herself with fir-branches, and praying to the Dawn. She had to be back in her lodge before it was light; if caught too far to return, she screened herself with fir-branches, for only her attendant was supposed to see her face during her training. During this period, she wore a large robe painted red on breasts and sides; among some tribes, her face and body were painted also. She wore her hair in a knot, with a willow head-band, instead of the buckskin band, for deer would be displeased, and, in future years give her head-ache. She used a scratch-stick, drinking-tube, and wooden comb, as did the adolescent boys and warriors. Girls "placed little heaps of dry fir-needles on their wrists and arms, to which they set fire, meanwhile praying that they might be enabled to withstand pain of all kinds, but especially that of child-birth. (89: 588.) Usually they thus scarred both wrists and both forearms. At night, she sometimes ran with heavy stones held close to her body, and, as she dropped them, prayed for safe-delivery in child-birth. During the middle, or toward the end of their training-period, girls made pictures with paint, or engraved them on the rocks. These were mostly of objects seen in their dreams, and the painting was supposed to hasten the attainment of the "manitou," or other desires. Among the Shuswap, boys made these pictures as well as girls. With this people: "Both boys and girls gathered lice, which they enclosed in a horse-tail reed and set adrift on a stream, at the same time praying to the Day Dawn that, in after years, they might have no lice. This was done on four consecutive mornings." (89: 590.) And here also: "Both boys and girls were carefully watched from childhood, and not allowed to smoke or have sexual connection until after their periods of training." Usually the girls did not marry until from one to three years afterward. In cases where either sex decided to take up the *rôle* of the other, this assumption came at the end of the training-period, before the individual resumed the normal routine of life. In this case there was no marriage, the girl returning in man's dress, and *vice versa* (pp. 265-267).

From the details of this training, cited at some length, although much has been omitted, it is apparent how erroneous

are the conclusions of those who emphasize any one aspect only of the conception of puberty found among savages. The complexity is great, ranging from the most common-place facts of daily life to the mysteries of religion. Sex does not dominate here completely, as so often asserted. The human element is supreme. The same belief in the magic power of youth guides the hand that pushes forth the vermin-laden craft and the hand that seeks to express in art, as did the ancient cave-dwellers, the dream and longings of the human spirit.

IV. Variation in Degrees of Attention Paid to Puberty of Girls

A. *Absence, or Seeming Absence, of "Puberty"-Ceremonies*

The following peoples, apparently, have no "puberty"-ceremonies for girls (where the authorities consulted are in doubt, this is indicated by (?), and that the occurrence of such ceremonies is not mentioned is indicated by (*x*)).

1. Africa: *Ababdes* (nose-ring is given, if betrothed), *Anyasa* of E. Central Africa, *Bantu* (some in S. Africa, though usually having maximum amount), *Bechuanas* (a few), *Endo-speaking tribes* (no notice, unless married), *Ewe-speaking tribes* (some), *Kafirs* (rites formerly extreme, now being abandoned), *Kilimandjaro district* (some), *Madagascar* (rites now falling into disuse with some tribes), *Suk* (those living near Turkana give up circumcision, mutilation, etc., so that, in time of war, they may not be conspicuous; *Tshi-speaking* (some *x*).

2. Asia: *Ahoms* (Thai Shans; no notice of poor girls; those of priestly clan, Deodhai, tattooed with star), *Annamese, Cochin tribes and castes* (Chedans, before puberty cannot eat meat or touch food in husband's house; Nambuthiris, no rites or seclusion; Nattu, marriage must take place before; Panans; Pulayans of Thanda; Syrians; Velans, very poor dispense with rites,—in the Cochin area every variety of attitude toward puberty occurs, from complete ignoring to extreme ritual and seclusion), *Kadars* (tooth-chipping performed from age of ten to puberty), *Khasis, Lolos* of Kientchang (absolute freedom), *Lushei-Kuki clans* (Tibeto-Burman), *Pagan races of Malay Peninsula* (in general), *Tangkhuls, Todas, Veddas* (Forest and Rock).

3. Indonesia, Australia, Polynesia: *Australian Narrinyeri* (*x*), *Australian South-East tribes* (mutilate the little finger, but no relation to puberty, *x*), *Bontoc Igorot, Ceram Laut, Easter I., Eastern Is. of Torres Sts., Fijians, Kalabits* (*x*), *Kayans, Koita, Marshall Is.* (rites only for chief's daughter), *Massim, Melanesians* (some), *Muruts, New Britain* (none for very poor, extreme in case of rich), *New Caledonia* (*x*), *New Guinea* (some), *Philippine Is.* (some), *Roro-speaking tribes, Samoa* (com-

plete freedom), *Subanuns, Tasmanians, Tubetube, Wagawaga* (*x*), *Waima, Wamira, Yule I.*

4. North America: *Blackfoot, Chumash* (*?*), *Costanoan* (*?*), *Cree* (Eastern; *x*), *Crow* (marriage usually before puberty; if not, on first appearance of puberty, girl is "joked"), *Eskimo* (no rites, and, in general, little attention; Baffin Land, Central Eskimo, Greenland, Ungava), *Huichol* (Mexico), *Miwok, Navaho* (some) *Patwin* (*x*), *Salinan* (*?*), *Sia, Tarahumares* (Mexico), *Yokuts* (*?*), *Zuñi.*

5. South America: *Chorotis* (of Gran Chaco), *Karajá, Quechuas* (of Potosi, etc.), *Rio Pilcomayo tribes* (some).

B. *Minimum Degree of Attention*

Peoples paying a minimum degree of attention to puberty of girls:

1. Africa: *Anyanja* (re-naming; festivity lasts one day), *Ashanti* (girls acquire fetish, or guardian-spirit, who cares for them until married; they drag it from the bush, and make offerings of milk on reaching puberty, but without special ceremony), *Baganda* (great variation; some have feast merely), *Bantu* (great variation; some have limited seclusion, feasts, etc.), *Bechuanas* (some, only limited seclusion), *Endo-speaking tribes* (seclusion, if married), *Ewe-speaking tribes* (some, seclusion during menstruation, instruction), *Mpongwe* (initiation into Njembe society, a primitive "woman's rights organization," may take place at puberty, or before, 63. II: 243-245); initiation varies from a few hours, etc., to several weeks), *Tshi-speaking tribes* (some tribes celebrate with songs, offerings, and washing-ceremony), *Wambuga* of German W. Africa (fire-tests of chastity).

2. Asia: *Burmese* (teeth blackened; ears must be bored), *Chamars* (tattooing), *Cochin tribes and castes* (Pulayans, "leaf marriage" ceremony to Thanda plant; southern Taluks, limited seclusion, feast; Variyars, three-day seclusion feast, offering), *Mikir tribes of Bhoi* (tattoo, change of mode of dress), *Naga tribes* (tattoo, food-taboos; while operation is going on, girl lives in another village, away from home), *Nicobar Is.* (teeth blackened, dilatation of ear-lobe), *Orang-Laut* (no ceremonies, but occasional limited seclusion, shaving, scarification, tooth-filing, etc., not necessarily connected with puberty), *Siamese* (head is shaved).

3. Indonesia, Australasia, Polynesia: *New Britain* (girls of "middle class are secluded for a few days only; range here from no ceremony, through intermediate stages, to maximum seclusion of ten years), *New Caledonia* (no rites; but, if chief is ill, when girl reaches puberty, she is severely beaten), *New Guinea* (*some*) *tribes* (no rites, but scars cut on girl's chest, when her brother spears his first dugong), *Philippine Is.* (some), *Wamira* (no notice of puberty now; formerly taboos and seclusion).

4. North America: *Hopi* of Athapascan stock (marriage usually coincides; girl works hard four days at home of her mother-in-law; has new hair-arrangement), *Klamath* (girls compose puberty-songs as acts of courtship), *Lillooet* of Salishan stock (formerly elaborate ceremonies, now passing into disuse), *Lkuñgen* of Salishan stock (food-taboos offerings), *Maidu* of California (no ceremony if girl is married before puberty), *Navaho* (some; no seclusion, but girls may undergo admission to secret society), *Nootka* (special costume and decoration; girls may take part in Wolf ritual, but not necessarily at puberty), *Tahltan* of Athapascan stock (ceremony, not now strictly observed), *Yuchi* (menstrual seclusion), *Zuñi* (no ceremony but girl works hard on day of first menstruation), *Eskimo* (Bering Sts. Unalit, girl rests four days in family hut,—formerly there existed a forty-day seclusion, belief in magic, taboos, etc., as with the neighboring Malemut; Central Eskimo, tattooing at age of twelve; Hudson Bay Eskimo, tattooing, four days' operation away from camp, and, when girl returns, "it is known that she has begun to menstruate"; in general, only those Eskimo who have come into contact with the Indians, particularly the Athapaskan tribes, pay attention to the phenomena of puberty, though limited seclusion during menstruation and child-birth is frequent).

5. South America: *Ashluslays* of Gran Chaco (no seclusion or idea of impurity; dance is held for all the tribe), *Gran Chaco tribes* (some; feast, decoration, dance), *Karajá* (no rites, face is painted), *Tehuelches* (dance, feast), *Uaupés tribes* (some; feast, decoration, food-taboos).

C. *Intermediate Degree of Attention*

The following peoples may be said to pay an intermediate degree of attention to the puberty of girls.

1. Africa: *Anyanja* of L. Nyasa (festivity of several days, decoration, instruction; 94: 126-127), *Bafiote* (isolation, fire-ordeal; 61. II: 717), *Baganda* (some; seclusion, scarification, instruction; 66: 79-81), *Bawenda* (physical training, etc., Tondo school; *The Bawenda of S. Africa*, Lond., 1908, pp. 61-62), *Egyptian* (infibulation; Lane. *Mod. Egypt.*, p. 71), *Gola-Mendi* (seclusion in hut, ceremony; 61. II: 717-718), *Hottentots* (fire-ordeal, formerly, extreme,—circumcision); 61. II: 717-718; Theal, *Hist. and Ethnogr. S. Africa*, Lond., 1907, 1: 49, 112-117), *Tshi-speaking tribes* of Gold Coast (some; songs, washings, offerings, etc.; Ellis, *Tshi-speak. Peop.*, Lond., 1887), *Togo-land tribes* (some, Ewe-speaking; seclusion, sacrificial offerings; girl carefully educated in arts, crafts and agriculture by mother; Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 210, 454, 896), *Zulus* (seclusion, intermediate; special hut; she is attended by 12 or 14 girls, who guard her; "no married man may come near the dwelling, and, should any one do so, he is beaten away by the girls, who attack him violently with sticks and stones; during her seclusion, the neophyte must on no account see or address any man, married or unmarried";

girls who attend her are free to have intercourse at end of the girl's first menstruation; at end of seclusion, girl bathes, and undergoes perforation of the hymen by two old women; she is then considered a woman; Macdonald, in *J. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. 20, pp. 117-118).

2. Asia: *Andamanese* (flower-names are given, according to season in which puberty is attained; 51: 60-67, 91), *Cambodians* (poor girls secluded a few days, taboos, hair-cutting; Cabaton, in 22. III: 163), *Chams* (seremonial, three-months' seclusion; Cabaton, *Ibid.*, 345), *Chinese* (seclusion begins at puberty; girl then called "she who sits in the house), *Cochin tribes and castes:* Devangas (some; 15 days' seclusion, demons warned off; 42. II: 372), Eravallens (limited seclusion, taboo of seeing adult; *Ibid.*, 45), Izhuvans (a fishing caste; seclusion, feast ceremonial; 42. 1: 283-284), Nayars (high-caste Sudras; 4 days' seclusion; also maximum in *thirandukuli* ceremony; 42. II: 22-29), Pulayans (those near Cochin only; 7 days' seclusion, magic, exorcism, etc.; 42. 1: 98-99), Pulluvans (Izhuvans; 7 days' seclusion, religious rites; Ibid, 146), Volans (4 days' seclusion, no rites; formerly maximum, with rite of *theralikka*, "causing puberty", now abandoned; Ibid., 235-236), *Persia* (both sides of Persian Gulf; infibulation may be performed during childhood; Niebuhr, p. 70), *Sinhalese* (menstrual seclusion, some restrictions, no rites? 77: 94), *Veddas* (Uniche; menstrual seclusion borrowed from Sinhalese, breaking of pot or dish placed on girl's head by female relative; 77: 94; Sarasin, 72: 457-561, mentions none), *Veddas* (Village; menstrual seclusion, borrowed; 77: 94).

3 Indonesia, Australasia, Polynesia: *Australian:* Otati, E. of Cape York Peninsula (seclusion for first period, burying in sand, painting; 75: 206), Uiyumkwi of Red I., N. Queensland (same as for Otati; 75: 205), Wakelbua of the South-East (short seclusion, totem worn to warn men of her condition; 41: 776-777), Yaraikanna (northern; seclusion, taboos, restrictions, etc.; 75: 205); *Muralug* of Torres Sts. (two months' seclusion, ceremonial, food and sea taboo; 75: 204-207.—"probably shows Australian characteristics," p. 205), *Saibai* of Torres Sts. (two weeks' seclusion, change of name, food-taboo; 75: 205-207, 34: 215), *Wamira* (formerly seclusion, taboos, etc., but all rites now abandoned; 75: 258-259).

4. North America: *Algonkian Prairie tribes* (some; fasts, tests of endurance, seclusion for short period; Owen, in 22. 1: 323), *Assiniboine* of Siouan stock (four days' seclusion only at puberty, gifts distributed, no use of scratch-stick, etc., as neighboring tribes do; Lowie, in *Anthrop. Pap. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. 19, p. 39), *Cheyenne* of Algonkian stock (four days' seclusion, purification, "smoking," hardening; 88. II: 314,—see also writings of G. B. Grinnell), *Creeks* of Muskhogean stock (seclusion, probable use of scratch-stick, drinking-reed, etc.; 7: 491), *Foxes* of Algonkian stock (religious and social, dances, painting; Owen, in 19. 1: 323), *Haida* of Skittagetan stock (seclusion, also maximum in physical tests and hardening; 88: 314), *Hupas* of Athapaskan stock (seclusion,

taboos, scratch-stick, ceremonial bathing; 32), *Iroquois* (seclusion, taboos; 88: 314), *Kickapoos* of Algonkian stock (religious dancing, painting, social; Owen, in 22. 1: 323), *Maidu* of Northeast (seclusion during day only, taboos; 18: 236), *Maidu* of Sacramento Valley (ten days' limited seclusion, food-restrictions, purification; also a maximum with social, religious and esthetic aspects; 18: 232-239), *Omaha* of Siouan stock (rite open to girls, but not obligatory as with boys; also religious and social maximum with rite of Mozhizho, "Mark of Honor" ceremony in special cases; 25: 129), *Pawnee* of Caddoan stock (short seclusion, purification; reaches also maximum in feast and special honor paid to girl; 23: 26, also Grinnell, in *Amer. Anthrop.*, N. S., v. 4, p. 281), *Pima* of Shoshonean stock (menstrual seclusion, taboo, use of scratch-stick, drinking-reed, etc.; 69: 162, 188, 204), *Salishan tribes in general* (seclusion of ten days to one month, fast, taboos; *J. Anthr. Inst.*, 1905, p. 319), *Saulteaux* of Algonkian stock (seclusion during first menstruation, no food given; Skinner, in *Anthrop. Pap. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 1911, p. 152), *Seri* (tooth-evulsion and tattooing or painting hereditary designs, feast; among these Indians there are no rites, but erection of separate hut,—here a maximum of complete freedom is also reached, with the most exalted social status given to girl at puberty of any people studied; 56: 11), *Shasta* (limited seclusion of ten days, food-taboos; also reaching a maximum of ceremonial and social observance, etc.; 17: 455-471), *Shoshone* (northern; seclusion, taboos, but sight of girl causes death; 50: 214, 239), *Shuswap* of Salishan stock (limited seclusion, restrictions; but reaching also a maximum of pedagogic social, and religious observance; 89: 587-592), *Sta. Barbara* (seclusion, scratch-stick of abalone-shell), *Tahltan* of Athapaskan stock (restriction and seclusion less in case girl is not daughter of rich man or chief; Emmons, in *Univ. of Penn. Anthrop. Publ.*, 1911, p. 105), *Takelma* (few restrictions, limited seclusion, but puberty-dance is most important festival; 71: 237), *Thompson Indians* of Salishan stock (limited seclusions, restrictions, but reaching a pedagogical, etc. maximum similar to that of the Shuswap; 6: 227-230), *Wintun* of Copehan stock (limited seclusion, three days fast, but puberty-dance as great social event; 64: 235-236), *Yuchi* (menstrual seclusion, but reaches maximum of religious, social, ceremonial and traditional belief; 83: 96, 106-115), *Zuñi* (no attention paid to menstruation, but maximum of initiation into Kotikila fraternity may occur; 86: 93, 103, 294, 303), *Eskimo peoples:* Aleuts (seclusion in *barrabarra* for seven days, no one visits her but her slave, men tabooed; Chamberlain, in 22. 1: 303; see also 20: 88, 88: 314-315).

5. South America: *Arawaks* (many tribes; seclusion, food-taboos, hardening, etc.; 61. 11: 717), *Caribs* (many tribes; seclusion, also reaching maximum of hardening, mutilation, etc.; *Ibid.*, p. 428), *Chané* (Arawakan tribe of Gran Chaco; seclusion in chest, or behind partition in family house; 60: 210), *Chiriguano* (Tupian tribe of Bolivia; hair cut short, dieting between first and second menstruation, seclusion; *Ibid.*), *Coroados* (seclusion, food-taboos; 61. II: 717), *Mataco* of Gran Chaco (seclusion, etc., attribution of menstruation to bite of snake; 60: 107).

D. *Maximum Degree of Attention*

Peoples who pay, in one way or another, a maximum degree of attention to the puberty of girls are the following:

1. AFRICA: *Abyssinians* (physical; infibulation, circumcision, seclusion; Littmann, in 19. 1: 58), *A-Kamba* (physical and social; circumcision, tooth knocking and filing; 39: 18-71), *Akkra* (physical and ceremonial; circumcision; 22. III: 667), *A-Kikuyn* of British East Africa (ceremonial, social and physical; circumcision; Routledge, *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-161), *Bamangwato* (physical and ceremonial; circumcision; Gray, in 22. III: 669), *Bambuk* (physical and social, entrance to secret society; 63. 1: 246), *Bantu* (some tribes; physical, circumcision, sex-emphasis; Theal, *Op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 112-116), *Basuto* (religious and esthetic; lustration; 57: 101-103; see also MacCulloch, in 22. II), *Bechuanas* (some tribes; physical; ordeals; circumcision, beating, seclusion; 61. II: 220-235; see also Joyce, in *Encyclop. Britannica,* 1911, v. 4, p. 604), *Bondei* (physical, social and pedagogical; circumcision, fire-ordeals, hardening; satire and reviling; Vihili secrets taught; Dale, in *J. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. 25, pp. 188-193), *Cross River natives* of Oburu district in Southern Nigeria (physical; circumcision, tooth-evulsion, fattening; girls at puberty have special guardian deity; Partridge, *Cross River Natives,* Lond., 1905, pp. 169-216), *Galla peoples* (physical; infibulation, circumcision; 87: 523), *Kafirs* of Pondo Land and interior (physical; circumcision, fire-ordeal, strength-tests, sex-emphasis; Kidd, *Essent. Kafir,* Lond., 1904, pp. 26-210), *Kordofan* (some tribes; infibulation, circumcision; 61. 1: 379; 87: 523), *Loango* (some tribes; circumcision, festivity; 61. II: 220-235), *Mandingos* of Sierra Leone (seclusion one month and one day, social and religious instruction, nakedness; 62: 292), *Masai* (physical; circumcision, seclusion, scarring with acid, instruction; Hollis, *The Masai,* Lond., 1905, pp. 261-299; Merker, *Die Masai,* Berlin, 1904, p. 60), *Mendi* (ceremonial, religious, etc.; "resurrection"; 61. II: 718), *Nandi* (physical and social, circumcision, ceremonial; Hollis, *The Nandi,* Lond., 1909, pp. 57-82), *Nubia* (some tribes; circumcision and infibulation; 61. 11: 548), *Old Calabar* (circumcision; *Ibid.*, pp. 220-235), *Peuhls* (circumcision; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Shekani tribes* of W. Africa (physical and social; fasting, swooning, ordeals, initiation to Mwetyi society; Nassau, *Fetishism in W. Africa,* Lond., 1904, p. 249), *Simali* (some tribes; circumcision and infibulation; 87: 523), *Suk* (circumcision, dance; ceremonial and religious; Beech, *The Suk,* Oxford, 1911, pp. 20-24), *Vaï tribes* of Liberia (limited seclusion; long period of instruction in arts, crafts, industries, esthetics, religion, sex, etc., in the "greegree bush"; 9. II: 308-314), *Yaos* (Bantu people; social, ceremonial, pedagogical; seclusion one month, sex-instruction; 94: 126-127).

2. ASIA: *Cambodians* (rich girls secluded for years, taboos, hair-cutting; Cabaton, in 22. III: 163), *Cochin tribes and castes:* Hindus (magic and religious; astrology; divination of girl's future from nature of menstrual blood-drops; 42. 1: 205-206), Jews ("White", "Black" and "Brown"

Jews; seven days' seclusion with ritual, etc.; gifts; marriage before and after puberty; 42. II: 408), Kadupattans (seclusion; ceremonial, demons feared; *Ibid.*, p. 106), Kakkalans (palmists, vagrant mat-makers; seven to eleven days' seclusion, special food, exorcism; *Ibid.*, pp. 381-382), Kammalans (fifteen days' seclusion; ceremonial, 42. 1: 344-345), Nayars (high-class Sudras; Thirandukuli ceremony; 42. II: 22-29), Oddens (earth-workers; fifteen days' seclusion, for taboos, magic, etc., *Ibid.*, p. 391), Otans (potters; fifteen days' seclusion, caste-feast; *Ibid.*, p. 395), Tamils (Brahmans; seclusion, procession, religious festival; *Ibid.*, p. 291); *Kamchatkans* (circumcision; religious rites; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Koreans* (capping ceremony, presentation to ancestors, re-naming; social, religious, pedagogic; 49: 525-531), *Peguans* (infibulation, sporadic circumcision; 87: 548).

3. Indonesia, Australasia, Polynesia: *Australian peoples:* Arunta (physical; mutilation, sex-emphasis, rite of *Atna-Ariltha*, etc.; 85: 92-94), Central tribes in general (physical; circumcision, *Atna-Ariltha*, mutilation, etc., report given to piercing or cutting the ovary; *Ibid.*, p. 457, 458, 462, 473; 62. 1: 178), Ilfirna (same rites as Arunta; 85: 92-94), Queensland tribes (physical and ceremonial; four stages of initiation, similar to Central tribes; Roth, *Ethnol. Stud.*, Lond., 1897), Tribes from Urabanna in south through the continent to western shores of Gulf of Carpentaria (physical; circumcision, seclusion, and, in some districts, intocision; Gray, in 19. III: 667); *Malays* of Alfurese Archipelago (circumcision; *Ibid.*), *New Britain* (girls of rich undergo "Tabu siga" caging ceremony, seclusion of from two to ten years; taboos of touching earth, seeing sun, etc.; 16: 285), *Yam and Tutu Is.* of Torres Sts. (physical; pain, hardening, beating; seclusion; decoration; origin of menstruation attributed to embrace of moon; 75: 204-207).

4. North America: *Ahts* (seclusion, fasts, taboos of sun and fire; Sproat, *Scenes and Stud. of Sav. Life*, Lond., 1866, p. 93), *Algonkian Prairie tribes* (some; girls who are to become shammans are subjected to severe treatment; four series of "religious" dances; red spots painted on girl's face by father; Owen, in 19. 1: 323), *Apache* (nomadic tribe of Athapaskan stock in S. W.; social, religious and dramatic; Jicari 11a ceremony represents race-origin; parts of culture-heroes played by boy and girl; 30: 166-171), *Carriers* of Athapaskan stock (seclusion, ceremonial impurity, gifts, etc.; Morice, *Op. cit.*), *Déné or Athapaskans* (some tribes; seclusion of one to three years, fasting, taboos, magic; Morice, *Op. cit.*), *Diegueños* (Mission Indians of California; social and religious; "roasting" ceremony; 68: 29), *Haida* (physical; hardening; 88: 314), *Lillooet* (Salishan Indians of B. C.; social, pedagogical, religious; long period of training and purification; 89: 262-267), *Luiseño* of Shoshonean stock (social, religious and esthetic; ceremonial; "roasting" ceremony; 48: 31-32), *Maidu* of Foothill district (seclusion, limited; social and esthetic emphasis; 18: 235), *Maidu* of northeast district (social and esthetic; sex-emphasis, license given to participants in ceremonies; *Ibid.*), *Mission tribes* (some; social and religious; "roasting" ceremony; 68:

28-32), *Navaho* of Athapaskan stock (may observe dramatic ceremony of Apache; girl is called "holy girl" and personifies Yolkaisdzan; Matthews, in *Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 1902, vol. 6, pp. 116-120), *Oglala Dakota* of Siouan stock (religious and social; festival of White Buffalo Skin; chief's food; 24: 583), *Omaha* of Siouan stock (religious and social; rite of Mozhizho, "Mark of Honor" ceremony in special cases; 25: 129), *Pawnee* of Caddoan stock (feast, special honor paid to girl; 23: 26), *Potawatomi* of Algonkian stock (religious, magic; hardening; dances, painting; especially severe for girls admitted as shamans; Owen, in 19. 1: 323), *Salinan tribes* of California (some; social, magical, ceremonial; Mason, in *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.*, 1912, vol. 10, p. 161), *Sauk* of Algonkian stock (religious and magic, etc., if preparing to be shamans; Owen, in 19. 1: 323), *Seri* (most exalted social status given to girl at puberty of any people studied; 56: 11), *Shasta* (ceremonial, social, magic; extreme power, etc., attributed to dreams of girls; girl is put to death by fire, if she dreams of certain disasters; 17: 455-461), *Shoshone* (northern tribes; sight of girl will cause death; 50: 214, 239), *Shuswap* of Salishan stock (pedagogic, social, religious; length of training partly depends on desire of girl,—two to four years; 89: 587-592), *South-West tribes in general* (social, esthetic, religious, dramatic; 30), *Tahltan* (seclusion six months to one year; scratch-stick; restrictions, etc.; Emmons, *Op. cit.*), *Takelma* (puberty-dance most important festival; 71: 237), *Thompson Indians* of Salishan stock (pedagogical, etc., similar to Shuswap; rock-drawings; 6: 227-230), *Tlingit* (fast, restrictions, especially if relative has recently died; Boas, Swanton), *Tsetsaut* of Athapaskan stock (seclusion for two years, taboos; magical, etc.; Boas), *Vuntakutchin* of Athapaskan stock (pedagogical, social; seclusion, after feast, in care of relative of betrothed, about a mile from home, for a year; puberty-feast as great social event; 38. II: 884), *Wintun* (puberty-dance as great social event; 64: 235-236), *Yuchi* (religious, social, ceremonial; belief in origin of race from menstrual blood; 83: 106-115), *Zuñi* (girl may enter Kotikila fraternity, and in this case the whipping, etc., of initiation is as severe as for boys; 86: 93, 103, 294, 303), *Eskimo peoples:* Malemut of Bering Sts. (forty days seclusion, taboos; magic; social; 59: 291-292).

5. South America: *Banivas* of Venezuela (Arawakan people; ceremonial, physical; heroic treatment, etc.; coincides with marriage-rite; Dalton, *Venezuela*, N. Y., 1912, pp. 119-134), *Caribs* (some tribes; hardening, mutilation; 61. II: 428), *Chunco* (circumcision; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Goajiros* of Arawakan stock, seclusion for from two to five months; 61. 11: 752), *Guiana Indians* (some tribes; seclusion in hammock for one month; girl's naked body exposed to bites of venomous ants; Labat, *Voy. en Guinée*, Amsterdam, 1731, v. 4, p. 365), *Içána tribes* of N. W. Brazil (some; hair cut short, body painted blue by mother; four weeks' seclusion and dieting; father sings daily at sunrise to girl, enumerating kinds of food tabooed and later permitted; feast; 46: 91-100), *Onas* of Tierra del Fuego (social; two years' training in endurance, and skill in

industries; Furlong, inform'n, 1913), *Quechuas* (circumcision; ceremonial, seclusion; milk; 61. II: 438), *Uaupés tribes* (some; seclusion, etc., similar to Içâna; formerly severe treatment, sometimes causing death,—beating, etc., 46: 91), *Ucayalí tribes* of N. E. Peru (some; circumcision; ceremonial; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Yahgans* of Tierra del Fuego (pedagogical, etc.; long period of training in industry, etc.; Furlong, inform'n, 1913).

V. Some Constituent Elements of "Puberty"-Ceremonies

In the table following have been listed some 300 or more items figuring in "puberty"-ceremonies from all over the globe. Items common to both adolescent boys and girls are marked *a*; those common to other social groups, warriors, priests, mourners, pregnant women, husbands of secluded women, fathers, etc., are marked *b*.

A. *Table of Elements of "Puberty"-Ceremonies*

*b*Agriculture (ceremonial performance of sowing, hoeing, reaping, etc.; dances and songs related to agriculture)

*ab*Animals (wearing of claws, hoofs, horns, teeth, tails, skins, etc.)

*ab*Anointing (with cocoanut-milk, fat, beer, honey, milk, animal and vegetable oil, wine, "medicine")

*b*Astrology (prediction of girl's career from time and manner of first appearance of puberty, etc.)

*a*Bag (large knit bag given as badge of maturity and ability to work, carry burdens, etc.)

*ab*Bathing

*ab*Beating (with clubs, rods, etc., occasionally causing death; sticks, stinging plants, thorns, thongs, etc.)

*ab*Binding (with cords, strings, fibers, sinews, cobwebs, etc.)

*a*Blindfolding

Blood (divination of future career of girl from form, size, and color of first menstrual blood)

*ab*Blood-drinking

*ab*Blood-letting

*b*Blood-sprinkling (blood of fowl sprinkled on charms, gifts, religious offerings, etc.)

*ab*Blood (as possessing magical or polluting qualities)

*ab*Blood (prohibition of girl seeing blood during rite or seclusion)

*ab*Branding

*b*Breaking of dish or pot

Bride (girl considered as, because of first menstruation)

*b*Buffalo-robe (ceremonial seating or stepping on)

*a*Burying (in earth, sand, etc.)

Burying (first menstrual blood buried in ground,—analogous to customs of child-birth)

*b*Candles (lighted to drive off demons; as offerings to gods)

*ab*Cannibalism

*a*Capping

*ab*Charms and amulets

*b*Child (young child carried in procession)

*ab*Children (prohibition of secluded girl having children of either sex near her, or of seeing them)

*ab*Cicatrization
*ab*Circumcision
*b*Citizenship (admission to full rights of)
*ab*Clay (as head or body covering)
*b*Clay (must be mixed with all water drunk by girl)
*ab*Clothes (burned, changed; provision of new clothes; washing, etc.)
*b*Clouds (symbol worn,—cotton, feathers, fluff, etc.)
*ab*Club-house (entrance into)
*ab*Consecration
*ab*Cooking (performed as ceremonial operation, or specially for pubescent girls; secluded or separated from general cooking)
*ab*Cords (as charms or decorations; as "medicine"; as sign of maturity)
*b*Crowning
*ab*Cutting (cutting body and face; gashing with knives, shells, stones, teeth, etc.)
*ab*Dancing (in groups; instruction in dancing; masks worn; sexes apart; sexes together; solo dances by girl; sex-instruction by means of dance)
*ab*Death (accidental; putting girl to death because of dreams; illness of chief; misfortune, sacrifice, vow-fulfilment)
*ab*Decoration (of body, clothes, face, house, implements, etc., in greatest variety)
*ab*Decoration (use of animal-skins, etc.; beads, shells, etc.; cutting; feathers; filing; floor fringes; painting; piercing; use of plant-juices for burning permanent marks on body and face; staining, tattooing, etc.)
*ab*Demons (driven out by blowing drums, exhortation, exorcism, fanning, flute, juggling, magic, nailing, offerings, prayers, purification, waving, etc.)
*ab*Depilation
Disgrace (incurred by failure to marry or to undergo sex-initiation before puberty)
*ab*Dishes (broken, ceremonially washed, provision of new set, special set used, thrown away, etc.)
*ab*Dramatic art (death and resurrection presented; folk-lore presented; origin-legend; pageants and processions)
*ab*Drawing (rock and sand drawings, and paintings of dreams, *manitous*, offerings, rites, visions, etc.)
Dreams (all of girl's dreams regarded as coming true; dreams guarded against, recorded, prohibited, punished, etc.)
*ab*Dress changed (mode of, temporarily, permanently)
Dressing (child dressed as girl in puberty-ceremony)
*a*Dressing (those in puberty-ceremony dressed in garments of opposite sex, warriors, etc.; bells, ornaments, robes, implements, weapons, etc.)
*ab*Drinking-reed
*ab*Ear cutting, decoration, etc. (lobes cut, bored, dilated, distended; plugs, cylinders, rings, etc., inserted,—of all sorts of material; pierced, slit, etc.)
*b*East (girl must sit facing E. during seclusion; ornaments, head-dress, etc., when removed, thrown toward E.)
*ab*Exhortations (to chastity, courage, generosity, industry, virtue, etc.)
Expulsion (of girl by women of tribe from settlement, if she

winces or shows cowardice during ordeals, etc.)

*ab*Face (anointed, blackened, cut, decorated, hidden, painted, etc.)

*ab*Fasting (limited; for long periods)

*b*Fattening

*ab*Feasting

*ab*Feathers (body covered with fat, oil, etc., and feathers applied as decorations, symbols; stepping in feathers, etc.)

Feet (covered with mocassins; taboo of touching ground)

*ab*Fire (signal-fires lighted by girl and mother to announce puberty; special fire for girl in seclusion, lighted by mother, clan brothers, sisters, etc.; standing in burning circle; fire-ordeals)

Firewood (ceremonial gathering of by girl for use in evening dance, festivities, etc.; small quantity gathered by her for every house in village; use in tests of strength)

*ab*Food (special articles provided; best food, "chief's food"; sweet-meats; removal of child-food taboo)

*ab*Food (filth-eating)

*ab*Food-prohibitions (all specially-liked articles; all usual articles, or those observed to have disagreed with girl during childhood; fruit, meat and fish; joints only, eaten when large animals are served; quantity limited; time of eating regulated)

*b*Food-song (all different food-products gathered and prepared by women enumerated in puberty-ceremony; father sings daily at sunrise to secluded girl, enumerating kinds of food tabooed and afterward permitted)

*ab*Food-taboo (animal food; birds, girls permitted only the young nestlings, etc.; certain parts tabooed,—feet, head, uterus, etc.; eggs, fish, meat, salt, etc., milk)

*b*Food-taboo (touching or eating the common staple food; hunting or touching the first animal of season, first salmon, bear, deer, turtle, etc.; first vegetables, etc.)

*ab*Gambling

*ab*Gift-giving (to candidates for initiation; to guests; to poor and aged; to spectators; to tutors and attendants of girl during seclusion; special emblems given as sign of maturity, etc.)

*b*Gift-giving to those of opposite sex (girls present boys with beads, clothes, foods, ornaments, etc.)

Girl not yet arrived at puberty (as aid, caretaker, and participant in ceremonies of girl undergoing the rite)

Girls of same age, or older (as companions, guardians, etc.; are put through same rites as pubescent girl)

*ab*Gods (acquisition of special deity to care for unmarried girls at puberty; brought from bush at puberty; returned, when married; prayer, sacrifice to)

*ab*Grass (as decoration, magic, symbol of fertility, etc.; sweet-grass burned as purification)

*ab*Guardian spirits (acquisition of)

*b*Guest-privilege (guests may ask for anything parents own, and they must give it during puberty-ceremony)

*ab*Hair (burning, coloring, cutting, distribution of, among guests; new arrangement of; permitting to grow long; shaving, etc.)
*ab*Head (concealed; conceived as sacred, covered during seclusion, etc.)
*b*Head-biting
*ab*Head-taboo (taboo of touching head with hand)
*b*Holiday given (from few days up to three months)
*b*House (erection of separate house for girl, without seclusion)
*ab*House (seclusion in special)
House-symbol (roof, or skeleton-model of house put over heads of group of girls, who have to carry it about)
*b*Infibulation
*b*Initiated girl (as companion of and guardian of girl, undergoing ceremony)
*ab*Initiation (into fraternities, sacred orders, secret societies, etc.
*b*Instruction (in esthetics, arts and crafts, domestic duties, hygiene, religion, social relations, tribal customs, etc.)
*a*Instruction in sex
*ab*Intoxicants (prohibited; used for first time)
Introcision
*a*Joking
*b*Juggling (amusement provided for guests at puberty-ceremony; magical act, performed by woban expert)
*ab*Kneeling
*ab*Knots (as decorations; as magical, or symbolic)
*ab*Labrets
*a*Language (proficiency required in use of special language, etc.)
*a*Leaf-gathering
Leaf-marriage (girl dressed in leaf-garment, ceremonially conceived as married)
Leaving home (girl sets out for mountains or bush, and is overtaken by mother or relatives; seclusion away from home)
License (given to all who dance or take part in puberty-ceremonies for various sorts of indulgence)
*a*Lies (prohibited; belief that acquisition of habit will persist throughout maturity)
*ab*Lips (boring; extension; slitting, etc., insertion of objects in, etc.)
*ab*Lustration
*ab*Marriage
*ab*Masks (worn during seclusion)
*ab*Milk (poured on body, head, etc., as wound-dressing)
Moon, taboo of seeing during seclusion)
Moon (tattooed as femine element in nature)
Mother (as chief in ceremony; as guardian, caretaker, etc.)
*a*Mother (prohibited from seeing child about to be initiated or secluded)
*ab*Mud (covering with)
*ab*Mutilation (of body, face, members; joints of little finger tied with cobwebs, and eaten off by ants)
*b*Nail (demons driven into tree by)
*ab*Nakedness
*ab*Naming
*ab*Narcotics, anesthetics, etc. (tobacco, chewed, eaten, prohibited, smoked; used as ordeal; used as purge, emetic, etc.)
*ab*Nasal septum (bored, distended, cut, pierced)

*ab*Ordeals (fire, thorns, etc.)
*ab*Painting; temporary, permanent; entire body, strips, face, etc.; use of flour, red earth, soot, white clay, pigments of all sorts)
Painting of special designs (four direction from corners of mouth; red disk, as sun-emblem, on crown of head)
*a*Passing out different door
*a*Paying attendants
*ab*Perfume
Piercing of hymen
*ab*Prayers
*a*Presentation to ancestors
*ab*Procession (to certain lake, mountain, river, sacred stone, etc.)
*b*Prohibition (of seeing adults; of anointing; bathing, etc., *ab;* of calling anyone by name, *ab;* of gluttony; of entering a field or kraal; of excitement and haste; of laughter, *ab;* of sleep, *ab*)
*b*Prostitution
*ab*Purging
*ab*Purification (cedar-bark, needles, wood, etc., burned! cow-dung, etc., dissolved in water; leaf and wood smoke; plants, sweet-grass, etc., burned; washing in water, etc.)
*a*Races (foot-racing by girl and guests; horse-racing, races in water)
*ab*Rattles (of deer-hoof, etc.; gourds, etc.)
*a*Relatives (girl not allowed to see)
*b*Repetition (same ceremony repeated at second menstruation)
*a*Reviling (attendants and tutors revile the neophytes, who are expected to make fitting return)
*ab*Riddles (carved on sticks during seclusion; guessing-contests)
Right (of girl to exclude her enemies from ceremonies and ordeals)
Rights (of attendant of girl in seclusion to enter any house before sunrise, and take anything without pay)
*a*Ring (worn as sign of puberty)
River (ceremonial bathing, washing, *ab;* floating object down, as offerings, or charms to keep off demons, *b*)
*b*Roasting
*ab*Sacrifices offered in behalf of girl
*ab*Sand (burying in; painting; winnowing)
*ab*Scarification
*ab*Scratch-stick
*a*Sea (ceremonial bathing, etc.; seclusion by; taboo, girl must not walk near high-water mark, and never below it)
*ab*Seclusion (from a few hours to ten years or more)
*ab*Seclusion (continuous during period of initiation or purification)
*ab*Seclusion (with periods of intermission for dancing, feast, etc.)
*ab*Seclusion (in bush, pit, one part of general family house; in separate house; at seashore, etc.)
Sex, other (girls may beat boys of same age with thorns)
Sex, other (permanent assumption of *rôle* of other sex in case of psychic or social inversion)
*b*Sex, other (if a youth is enfeebled or ill, pubescent girl may paint or tattoo lines on his wrists or arms, even while she is ceremonially unclean)
*a*Sexual intercourse
Sieve (pouring water through

for first bath during menstruation)
*ab*Silence enforced
Song (erotic, composed by girls)
*ab*Songs (esthetic; domestic duties; arts and crafts, food-songs by mother, by father; initiation; magical; physical, to promote growth of breasts, etc.)
*a*Songs as sex-instruction
*ab*Sprinkling (with feathers, flour meal, hoddentin, water, etc.)
*b*Star (prohibition of seeing)
Star (girl must bathe, and come out of seclusion when morning-star rises)
Star (symbol tattooed on girl as the four life-giving winds)
Star (symbol tattooed as night, or emblem of mother-force in nature)
*ab*Steaming
*a*Stinging (with ants, juices of poisonous plants and shrubs; producing temporary, or permanent marks)
Stones (carrying or wearing heated stones in belt)
Stones (carrying heavy, as test of strength during seclusion)
*a*Stones (sleeping on)
*ab*Suicide (in case of first-born, etc.; sacrifice; as fulfilment of vow of parents)
*b*Sun (gazing at till swoon is produced)
*ab*Sun (prohibition of seeing)
Sun (tattooed as mark of honor on girl's forehead)
*ab*Sweat-bath
*ab*Sweat-lodge (confinement in)
*a*Swimming (ending of ceremony; swimming-song)
*a*Swinging (in hammock as part of seclusion)
Swinging (performed by adolescent girl as magical rite for fertility of crops and race)
*b*Taboo (of approaching "medicine", the sick; of touching or seeing a large animal, bear, deer, etc.; sex-taboo, *ab;* blood, food, drink, head, moon, star, sun, water, etc.)
*ab*Tattooing (from few dots or lines to patterns over whole body)
*a*Threads (of cotton, silk, sinew, etc., tied about ankles and wrists; as decorations; as magical; as hygienic measure)
Tide (girl must bathe, after seclusion, when tide is running out; must not below high-water mark)
*ab*Tooth (filing, knocking; blackening, coloring, lacquering; removal, etc.)
*a*Totem (at first menstruation girl ties some symbol of her totem to her loins, to warn men of her condition)
*b*Totemism (both sexes instructed in at puberty; designs painted or tattooed on body, etc.)
Tree (bark, leaves, needles, etc., worn as decoration or sign of puberty, *a;* bark, boat floated down river, bearing lighted candles, offerings, etc., to drive off evil spirits, *b*)
*b*Tree (procession to sacred)
Tree-climbing (to give strength to girl and offspring)
Turtle (tattooed on girl to represent water and wind)
Turtle (prohibited during pairing season to menstruating girl)
*b*Veils worn
*a*Vermin (stinging with, as ordeal, test, punishment, etc.)
*a*Vermin (adolescents collect, and set adrift in small boat, to avoid being afflicted by them in mature life)

ab Vigils (long periods of sitting, standing, sleeplessness, etc., to avoid laziness)
ab Vomiting
ab Votive offerings
a Vow-fulfilments (if made by parents for child before or soon after birth)
ab War-dance (girl, with girl companions, dance before entire tribe, at end of ceremony)
a Warriors (girl wears clothes, decorations, weapons, etc., of)
ab Washing (ceremonial performance of; all who are with girl must wash before speaking to outside persons or men)
ab Water (prohibition of drinking; must be cold, warmed, mixed with clay)
b Whistling (whistling into girl's mouth)
ab Wine-drinking (allowed for first time at puberty; prohibition of; ceremonial use of)
Women (as chief in ceremony; as prohibited from seeing secluded girl, penalty death from sickness)
Wood (heavy pieces carried by girl, and placed in rocks, trees, etc.; strength-test)
ab Work (abstained from for periods of from one day to several years; begun for first time at puberty)
Work(special hard work done by girl on day of first menstruation, to avoid dysmenorrhoea, and also laziness in future life)

B. *Significance of Factors Listed in "Puberty"-Ceremonies*

In the "puberty"-ceremonies studied, there are 311 main items listed as occurring with sufficient frequency, or prominence, to be considered important. Very few are isolated; the majority occur in combination with other factors, and are grouped in various ways. Of these 311 items, 237 are common to adolescent ceremonies for both sexes; 42 are, apparently, distinct modes of treatment for the adolescent girl; the remainder, as well as most of those common to both sexes, are found in frequent use among other social classes, and in ceremonies of initiation generally.

Of the 42 (13% of the whole number), chiefly distinctive of customs relating to girls, 11% are mainly physical in character, and these bear close resemblance to analogous customs for boys, as, for example, the practice of introcision, performed on pubescent girls, is the physical counterpart of the subincision rite for boys (85); 11% are esthetic in function, bearing no relation to puberty, and only incidental references to sex; 28% have pedagogic relations; religious and social elements receive the chief emphasis in 70%. In each phase there is overlapping, due to the fact that a single custum may possess several native interpretations.

In dealing with the significance of these factors, it is clear that no generalizations can be made. No statistical value obtains in a numerical statement of the way in which they group themselves under certain headings; yet such treatment has a suggestive value. Of the 311 cases, 76, or about 24%, are mainly esthetic; 31% have pedagogical significance; in 39% the physical element is predominant; 220 or 70% of all, are social and religious in character.

Complexity of function is the most marked indication of the entire group. Overlapping is especially prominent in physical and social and religious aspects. On the other hand, items which appear wholly esthetic are frequently given social explanations. Thus, the use of feathers serves both as decoration and as a religious rite among the Zuñis. (86.) So, the practice of circumcision may be explained simply as the physical preparation for marriage; or it may be the badge of social maturity, or serve as the initiation to a religious group. Again, its explanation may be pedagogic, as to teach the girl not to be

lazy, or to enable her to carry heavy burdens without fatigue. The explanation may be hygienic, as preventive of disease, or inconvenient desires. Or, purely esthetic reasons may predominate, such as making the individual more attractive to the opposite sex. All these reasons, in great variety, are current among the people studied. Tattooing is another conspicuous example of a practice to be listed in all four groups. So, too, mutilations of many kinds, anointing, dancing, singing, purification, hair-arrangement, use of various materials for decoration, etc., all these show esthetic, physical, pedagogic, and social and religious aspects.

The esthetic group contains those items which are, perhaps, most rarely found in isolation. The esthetic phase may represent both the beginning and the decay of a custom. For instance, the elaborate tattooing of the Fiji girl is described as being purely decorative at first, and has now become an important badge of social position, the absence of which would prevent marriage. (Thompson, B., *The Fijians,* Lond., 1908, pp. 217-219.) Again, the Korean ceremony of capping was formerly a serious religious and pedagogic rite, and now it shows a tendency to become merely an esthetic change of dress for adolescents of both sexes. This view harmonizes with the theory of the development of art set forth by Grosse and adopted by Reinach and others, namely, that "art for the sake of art" is never primitive, but a derived and conventionalized form of the original esthetic impulse. Primitive art is always a social and religious phenomenon, and performs a social and religious function. (Grosse, E., *Die Anfänge d. Kunst,* Leipzig, 1894, pp. 176-177; Reinach, S., *Cults, Myths and Religions,* London, 1912, pp. 124-137.)

In like manner, songs and dances that may be understood as having originally been esthetic appendages to a social festivity in honor of coming of age of youth, have become the means of sex-instruction or of initiation into both physical and religious mysteries. The pedagogical value of these songs and dances has often been overlooked, observers describing them as "obscene." Havelock Ellis (20: 87-88, 493) was among the first to see their real significance.

The pedagogical element is emphasized in various ways, from the casual beating at puberty, or the mere harangue given in the

course of the ceremony, to the direct training given for months in the "Greegree Bush" of the Vaï. A conspicuous example of deliberate pedagogy is the fast (from a couple of years to five or more), involving abstinence from all food especially liked, or rare foods, obligatory upon girls and boys of the Andaman islands. This fast is explained as a preparation for the self-denial necessary in bringing-up a family. Abstinence is especially prolonged in case of girls, so that they may become careful for their children.

Again, the pedagogical value may be hidden in dramatic presentation of folk-lore, as in the Athapaskan and Zuñi customs. Or, it may come incidentally through the potency of imitation of acts performed by adults; so the old women of the Luiseño, Diegueño and other Mission Indians distribute coins to the guests, and clothes to the poor and aged, in order that the girls may become generous.

Though the physical customs of "puberty"-ceremonies are very numerous and involved, ranging from the new arrangement of hair of the Hopi Indians to the elaborate mutilations of the Australian Blacks, it must be noted that a large part are simply hygienic in character,—such, for example, as wearing heated stones, or being buried in heated sand, etc. Such origin may be attributed possibly to the customs of "roasting" and steaming the pubescent girl. Seclusion, itself, thus arises naturally from the inclination for rest, and from the inconvenience in primitive culture of providing proper clothing during the period of menstruation.

Social and religious values, to a large extent, dominate all "puberty"-customs. A typical instance occurs in the intricate ceremony of the Yaos (Central African Bantus), where, after many elaborate rites and physical mutilations, etc., the chief purpose of the proceedings is seen in the carrying about by the group of initiated girls of the roof or skeleton model of a house, with the explanation that they thus become accustomed to the position of the "pillars of the home." (94: 127.) Sometimes the real significance of adolescent ceremonial has been adequately set forth by the peoples themselves among whom it occurs.

VI. Native Explanations of Puberty-Customs

It is a singular fact that of all the theories of the significance of puberty-ceremonies, such as those of Frobenius, Frazer, Crawley, Schurtz, Webster, etc., none is based mainly on the explanations of primitive peoples themselves, the assumption being, apparently, that of the Freudian theory of consciousness; i. e., these statements do not say what they mean, and the true reason must be sought elsewhere. Difficulties in the method of using native explanations are enormous; in many cases, they have not been recorded, or have been "interpreted" by the recorder. In spite of this, however, it would seem that here, as in the fields of totemism and myth, nothing can be gained until foundations are laid in the facts of primitive life. If then we fail, by this method, to reduce puberty-customs to the dimensions of a theory, we may at least obtain insight into the healthy diversity of the problem. .

Westermarck (95:170), noting that the explanation often given for savage decoration is a religious one, remarks: "But such tales are not of much importance, as any usage practiced from time immemorial may easily be ascribed to the command of a god." Arbitrary religious sanction, however, may well serve to indicate the secondary and fortuitous nature of the custom. Wundt (in his *Ethik*), on the contrary, holds that the religious idea is the true source of the custom. This is the view of Tylor, later adopted by Frazer and Crawley. The present use of native explanations of puberty-customs, however, is not concerned with the problem of the origin and development of these customs, but with their *meaning* to the people who use them. The aim is to discover the content, not the interpretation.

In a recent article on "The Sociological Significance of Myth" (*Folklore,* 1912, XXIII, pp. 307-331), Rivers points out that the service of myths in providing *clear evidence of social conditions* has been largely overlooked (p. 328). It is

upon this function of native explanation that the present method relies.

In the material studied, native explanations have been furnished in 219 instances. To attempt to group these reasons into certain categories is to enter a maze of conflicting motives as varied as life itself. Yet it will be apparent that typical ideas emerge, exhibiting features which are mainly physical, esthetic, pedagogical, religious or social; we cannot gain complete disposal, however, of each individual explanation by grouping it under one of these heads. For instance, the custom found among the Shuswap Indians of setting lice adrift at puberty is given a purely physical reason, *i. e.*, that the adolescents may be free from vermin in the future. But it is performed also for a magico-religious reason, founded on express belief that everything done at this period has a predetermining effect upon the after-life of the individual (89:587). In order to show the complexity of the problem, it may be well to treat separately two very common and widespread modes of treatment,—tattooing and circumcision.

A. *Tattooing*

To a greater or less extent tattooing is performed on the adolescent girl in Asia, Oceania, and North and South America; not at all in Australia, and rarely in Africa. None of the puberty-rites studied show evidences of simple tattooing of the girl in Africa. As to Australia, Westermarck (85:177) says that either or both sexes are tattooed at puberty. Waitz (*Anthrop. d. Naturv.,* Lpzg., 1872, Vol. VI, p. 739, p. 785, p. 787) mentions tattooing and scarification at puberty among the Australians without distinguishing them. Spencer and Gillen (85:42) note the prevalence of cicatrices, first made at puberty.

The physical extent of tattooing includes every part of the body,—"no visible part of the human body, except the eyeball, has escaped this practice." (95:169.)

Miss Fletcher states that, in general, tattooing for men in North America, "marked personal achievement, some special office, symbolized a vision from the supernatural powers, or served some practical purpose," as measuring, tallying and the like; while among women "the tattooing was more social in its significance." (38.II:700.)

With few exceptions, this is true elsewhere. Tattooing a line from the edge of the lower lip to the point of the chin, among the Eskimo, announced that the girl had arrived at puberty. Three lines (or more) indicated marriage. This was, perhaps, the most general form and meaning of tattooing applied to girls, throughout the American continent, as pointed out by Swanton.

Among the Nagas of Upper Assam matrimony was not permitted to the untattooed girls (Dalton, *Descript. Ethnol. Bengal,* Calcutta, 1872, p. 39). Tattooing is necessary before marriage among some of the pagan races of the Malay Peninsula, and in many parts of Oceania (76:493-494, 741, 264-2; Hose, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo,* Lond., 1912, Vol. I, pp. 166-171).

Similarly, the Makalaka girls, of South Africa, undergo the severe ordeal of having about four thousand stitches made in the skin of the chest and stomach, and a black fluid rubbed into the wounds. This occurs at puberty, and is necessary for marriage (Mauch, cited by Westermarck, 95:178). The Baffin's Bay Eskimo say that they tattoo girls in order to distinguish the sexes, since both dress in similar fashion (2:481). The Hudson Bay Eskimo give a highly suggestive social reason. At puberty girls are tattooed by old women, who insist on doing this in order to make the girls *"look old"* (2:481). Here we have a custom imposed by a social class, whose interests are remotest from adolescence. This artificial or fortuitous stimulus to pubertal custom is found in numerous instances, and is often recognized in the primitive explanation.

Tattooing as class mark, or sign of distinction, is frequent. The Omaha and some of their cognates place a round mark on the girl's forehead to indicate the achievements of her father, though she herself must fulfil conditions of chastity, strength and industry before he can receive the honor which accompanies this ceremony. The design is called "The Mark of Honor," and insures to the girl fertility, and a fortunate marriage. (25:219.)

This custom may be compared to scarring the chest of a girl when her brother spears his first *dugong,* as is done in New Guinea. (34:208 et seq.) We may compare also tattooing the mouth of the Eskimo wife whose husband is a great whaler (Fletcher, in 38.II:700).

The Takelma tattoo girls at puberty as a sex mark, "to

prevent them being derided as boys'' (71:273). Among the Ahoms (Shans of the Tai branch), tattooing is a mark of social distinction granted only to members of the priestly clan (Gurdon, P. R., in 22.I:235). While among the Tangkhuls of Manipur tattooing is a tribal identification, as well as means of protection; all women who bear this sign are unmolested when abroad, since other peoples respect Tangkhul vengeance (Hodson, T. C., *The Naga Tribes of Manipur.* London, 1911. p. 31). So with the Haida tribes of Queen Charlotte Islands, designs which have reached the highest esthetic quality of tattooing in North America, north of Mexico, are imprinted upon both men and women as tribal marks of distinction (Fletcher, in 38.II:700).

Esthetic and purely physical reasons are rare for this practice. The Melanesians of British New Guinea and the Massim tattoo solely as a means of personal adornment, and give no other explanation. (76:489, 492.)

Among the Naga Tribes of Manipur tattooing is said to have originated at the suggestion of a foreign monarch who pitied the poverty-stricken Naga who had no ornaments. (Hodson, p. 30.) Here should be mentioned the interesting fact that tattooing designs of the middle Atlantic coast peoples and those of many of the Western tribes of North America represented pottery and basket designs, showing their relation to woman's art and industry. (Fletcher, in 38.II:700; compare Wissler, ''Dec. Art of the Sioux Indians,'' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.,* N. Y., Vol. XVIII, 1904, pp. 231-278.) Westermarck, in his chapter, ''Means of Attraction,'' gives other examples which may have purely esthetic interpretation. (95: 179 et seq.) See also tattooing and noseboring of the Melanesians (Massim), ''to attract the opposite sex.'' (76:492.)

The chief physical explanations given are: for the sake of fertility (Omaha); for the cure of toothache (Chippewa, many beliefs were attached to the way in which the patient endured the pain). The therapeutic value of tattooing performed by a pubescent girl upon a delicate youth has already been mentioned; for the purpose of stimulating sex-passion in the girl preparatory to marriage (Thompson, B., *Fiji,* London, 1908, p. 219).

The relation of tattooing to sex-passion has been noted in Samoa by Turner (*Samoa,* London, 1884, p. 90). In Tahiti

this connection is also indicated, and given a religious explanation. The daughter of Taaroa and Apouvaru, their chief deities, was secluded at puberty, in order to preserve her chastity. "Intent on her seduction, the brothers invented tattooing, and marked each other with the figure called Taomaro. Thus ornamented, they appeared before their sister, who admired the figures, and in order to be tattooed herself . . . broke the enclosure that had been erected for her preservation, was tattooed, and became also the victim to the designs of her brothers." These two sons became the gods of tattooing, and men imitated their example. It is significant, however, that the chiefs of Tahiti later prohibited it altogether. (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches,* Vol. I:262, 266.)

Joest attributes tattooing to desire to attract and stimulate the opposite sex. (*Tätowiren, Narbenzeichnen und Körperbemalen.* Berlin, 1887, p. 56; compare 95:131.)

Other religious reasons for tattooing are in the main bound up with the welfare of the girl in the future world. With the Greenland Eskimo and those of the Aleutian Islands, if the operation is omitted girls in the future world will be turned into tubs, and placed under lamps in heaven (12). Among the Fijians, tattooing was appointed by the god Dengei, and its neglect punished by indignities in the other world. (Thompson, *Op. cit.,* p. 218.) With the Cochin Oddens, girls were tattooed as proof of their life on earth when they should die. (42.II.391.) Similarly the Chamars tattoo their girls, so as to "secure identification in the next world." (Lillingston, in 22.III:354.) The highest religious feeling, as exhibited by tattooing the pubescent girl, is shown by the Omaha and some of their cognates. Here the four-pointed star on back and breast signified life-processes and spiritual forces in nature. Male and female, light and dark, sun, moon, water, earth, sky, and the four life-giving winds were all expressed in this outward symbol of the union of the girl with the cosmos (25:494).

B. *Circumcision*

In dealing with native reasons for circumcision of girls all analogous operations on the sexual organs, such as infibulation, introcision, piercing or cutting the hymen or ovary, gashes, mutilations, etc., will be included. These practices on girls are

found frequently in Africa and Australia, somewhat in Oceania and South America, rarely in North America, and occasionally in Asia.

Although it will be impossible to pass in review the numerous theories of the origin and significance of circumcision, those of Westermarck and Spencer may fittingly be compared with theories offered by primitive peoples. Westermarck holds, as we have seen, that circumcision and all mutilations of the body arose as means of sex-attraction, through the need of variety, stimulus, decoration, etc. Later religious interpretation was given, or the custom became mechanical. (95:201-206.) According to Spencer, circumcision is a sacrificial offering to the gods. (*Descript. Sociol.*, Vol. II, p. 67..) This theory with certain modifications is widely held. (Frazer, Crawley, etc.)

Later, as in the case of the Jews, the custom is sometimes held to have developed social and legal features, becoming a mark of identification with a privileged class. According to this view circumcision is extended to women in the course of struggle for higher social status, and equality with men; it is then for women, a sort of by-product of freedom.

Primitive peoples express to a certain extent these types of explanation, but with a wider range, and as will be seen, a closer reference to the human aspect.

A common physical explanation of the circumcision of girls is to secure or promote chastity, though here it must be recognized that social, hygienic and religious factors may be involved. (Bamangwato, and peoples of Galla lands, Kordofan, Nubia, and Somali, in Africa; the Asiatic Kamchadals; and some of the tribes of South America.)

In the Somali lands, among the Asiatic Pegu, and in some other parts of Africa, as well as with certain peoples in Arabia and Egypt, infibulation occurs, sometimes together with circumcision, though not always performed at puberty, and is given a similar explanation. (87:548; Gray, in 22.III:667-669; Littmann, in *ibid.*, I:58; 61.I:379.)

Other physical explanations are: to check sexual desire before marriage, natives of the Alfurese Archipelago, and the Mandingo of West Africa (Gray, in 22.III:667) to avert hysteria (Peuhls and some cognates, Gray, P. H., *loc. cit;* 61.II:220-235), to promote fertility (Masai, Bambuk, natives of Old Calabar), while some of the Australians are said

by Ploss to pierce the ovary to prevent fertility. (61.II:235, citing MacGillivray.)

In one of the Masai native texts we read, "When Masai girls wish to marry they are circumcised." (Hollis, *The Masai.* Oxford, 1905, p. 299.) Although in the ceremony itself there is much to indicate that the rite has a ceremonial and civil purpose as well, the chief reason here given, points to the operation as a physical preparation for marriage. This reason is stated by the Bechuanas, and some of the other Bantus. (Joyce, *Ency. Brit.,* 1911, Vol. IV, p. 604.) So, among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago and of South America, circumcision is absolutely essential as preparation for marriage. (Gray, in 22.III:667; 62.I:438; see also 1884 edition.) In the Soudan and some other parts of Africa, no girl who is not infibulated can obtain a husband. (95:124; citing Escayrac de Lauture.) Egypt furnishes another illustration. (Gray, *loc. cit.;* Joyce, in *Ency. Brit.,* 1911, Vol. XIX, pp. 99-100.)

As preparatory to marriage too, are the Australian rites of perforation of the hymen (*Journ. Anthrop. Inst.,* Vol. XXIV, p. 169). This custom occurs in many other parts of the world. (95:123-125.) It ends the Zulu girl's seclusion, and admits her to freedom, and later to marriage. (*Journ. Anthrop. Inst.,* Vol. XX, pp. 117-118). As preparatory to marriage, too, are the Australian rites of perforation of the hymen, the rite of Atna-Ariltha, introcision, etc. Crawley supposes that, in accord with his general theory, these operations are for the purpose of "removing the first and therefore most virulent part of female contagion, as the West African, 'takes off the fetish,' from a strange liquor by getting some one to 'handsel' it." (14:190-191.) As regards the practice of introcision, however, and, possibly, some others, the Australians are said to consider that the rite of subincision for men necessitates an analogous operation for women. This purely physiological explanation obviates the contagion theory.

Finally we have the physical conception of circumcision as securing the health and well-being of girls. (Quechuas of Peru.) This conception may be compared with the theory of the now obsolete gynecology, with its widespread reliance on the general therapeutic value of ovariotomy. Rather than presence of ideas of sacrifice, etc., we seem more frequently to detect crude prototypes of the modern hygienic removal of vestigiaal organs, lymphoid tissue growth and the like.

Some of the native reasons are pedagogical, for example: "to make the girl more skilful and capable in her daily work" (Pano of South America; Gray, in 22.III:667); to keep her from weariness or laziness (Indonesia, 87: 523; Gray, in 22.III: 667), or, as among the Nandi of East Africa, circumcision and ordeals are for the purpose of making the girl "courageous and strong." (Hollis, *Nandi,* pp. 57-82.) Among the Australians, cutting the ovary is said to exist as a punishment (62.II:235); so, punishment of girls in certain parts of India, includes mutilation of the sex-organs.

A religious turn is given to this practice by the Tecuna of Western Brazil who circumcise their girls, "to remove uncleanness." (Gray, in 22.III:668.) The religious nature is seen further among some of the Uaupès tribes of South America, among whom the rite may be reduced to a mere gash cut in the vulva, for ceremonial purposes, or "to banish evil." In Abyssinia, circumcision of girls is under the influence of the cult of the Virgin, fused with that of a pagan goddess who was protector of chastity. Littmann, in 22.I:58.) The religious significance may be indicated as among the Suk, by use of the circumcision song and dances in the religious thanksgiving for grass in time of rain. (Beech, *The Suk,* p. 34.)

Among the A-Kikuyu all members of the tribe must be circumcised; "none otherwise can take part in any of the religious rites." (Routledge, W. S., *With a Prehistoric People,* London, 1910, p. 151.

By far the most numerous explanations are those which are social, such as admission to the nation, or sign that property may be inherited, etc. (A-Kikuyu: Bantu: Masai: Egyptians: Indonesia, etc.) Circumcision occurs with the Bantus frequently as a "civil rite," permitting boys to govern the country, and girls to associate on equal terms with mature members of the tribe. Both sexes form fraternities with all members of their own sex circumcised at the same time, and this bond is as enduring as kinship. (*Theol. Hist. and Ethnogr. of Syria,* London, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 112-117.)

This civil aspect has analogies in the very different custom of requiring evidence of the girl's virginity as a legal safeguard to her rights. Thus, among the Jews, "the tokens of the damsel's virginity" must be given to her parents to protect her in case of later accusation. (Deut., XXII:15-17.)

Similar badges of social status are preserved in China, Arabia, and among the Chuvashes. (95, p. 124.) Circumcision, as "a sign of maturity," is performed by the many African peoples (63.I:37), the Indians of North East Peru (Gray, T. H., 22.III:667), as a means of identifying the girl with the tribe (Nandi). With this may be compared the statement of the Bawenda, circumcision "has come to us from other tribes." (Wassmann, *The Bawenda,* 1908, pp. 61-62.) Not only is the custom of circumcision borrowed, but it may recede under foreign influence, thus showing its dependent and secondary character. The Suk, near the Turkana, do not circumcise as do their tribesmen who live elsewhere; the operation has been abandoned for both sexes, so that in time of war they may not be distinguished from their enemies. (Beech, *Op. cit.,* pp. 20-21.) So, in Madagascar the ceremony of circumcision has been obscured and abbreviated in recent years through contact with other peoples. Here the only part played by girls in the ceremony is the circumcision dance performed by those arrived at puberty. (See *Anthropos,* 1912.) Many peoples of Africa circumcise the girl at puberty in order to preserve the life of the child who will be born of her in the future. (Gray, in 22.III:667.) Some of the Naga tribes of Manipur (61.II: 220-235) practice infibulation so that parents of adolescents may be relieved from necessity of providing property, gifts, etc., in case of an early marriage, the amount to be given by the parents being fixed by law. (Hodson, p. 199.) We have here two extreme types of social explanation; in one instance the pubertal custom is determined by the future generation, in the other by the past. In neither is there direct relation to adolescence itself.

C. *Other Puberty-Customs*

The remaining primitive reasons for customs relating to the adolescent girl may be roughly grouped under the following heads: esthetic, physical, pedagogical, religious and social.

1. *Esthetic.*

Although the vast majority of puberty-rites have esthetic features, ranging from personal decoration and use of cosmetics to the highest forms of primitive art, as seen in adolescent games, songs, dances, pantomime, pageants and dramas, story-

telling, arts and crafts, and the various forms of pictorial art, painting, carving and the like, it is interesting to note that an esthetic reason for these rites is given only very rarely. The reasons themselves are usually equivocal. The Fijians and Tasmanians practised cicatrization solely for decoration. Also "rows of wart-like spots are burned along the arms and backs" of girls, for ornament. (Williams and Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians,* p. 137.) Cicatrices of the Australians have no meaning but ornament, though Spencer and Gillen note their relation to puberty and scars cut in mourning. (85:42. See also Curr, E. M., *The Australian Race,* 4 vols. Melbourne and London, 1886-1887, Vol. II, p. 475.) Some tribes of Madagascar make incisions simply for ornament. (Sibree, J., *The Great African Island.* London, 1880, p. 210.) The Kadars chip the teeth of girls at puberty, "to prevent ugliness," though this is the only tribe or caste in India to practice this custom (42:I: 24-25). In some parts of the Malay Archipelago, teeth are filed and blackened, white teeth being "like dogs'." (95:174.) Burmans stain the teeth black as decoration. (Temple, in 22.III:32.) Some of the Makalaka tribes, north of the Zambesi, "break out their top incisor teeth from sheerest vanity. Their women say that it is only horses that eat with all their teeth, and that men ought not to eat like horses." (Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa,* 1881, Vol. II, p. 259.) Other African tribes and some Australians knock out the teeth of girls, so they will "not be refused on account of ugliness." (Humboldt, cited by Westermarck, p. 174.) Although Westermarck holds that painting the girl at the first menstruation, assumption of labrets, nose and lip rings, etc., are due solely to desire for attracting the opposite sex, explanations as stated by primitive peoples appear usually more complex. (Westermarck, p. 172.)

The Jicarilla ceremony (Athapascan) representing dramatically by girl and boy, the racial origin of the people, contains, in the native text, some apparently purely esthetic elements. (31:266-268.)

2. *Physical.*

These reasons may be divided into those which relate to the girl's personal welfare, and those which relate to society. Examples of the first type are: knocking out teeth

to assist in breathing (Pepos, 61.II:424); use of scratch-stick to prevent baldness, grayness, and marks on the body (Lillooet, 89:264); use of drinking-tube, to prevent stomach trouble (Tahltan, Emmons, G. T., Univ. Penn. Anthrop. Pub., 1911, p. 165); headbiting to cause heavy growth of hair (Australian Arunta, 85, 213 et seq.); eating the pounded flesh of a black hen, having laid for the first time, in order to make the back and waist strong (Cochin Oddens, 42.II:391); painting, to preserve health or comfort,—thus, the ancient Egyptians painted a rim of green color around the eyes to moderate the glare of the sun, and green malachite paint is today used in Central Africa as a disinfectant, or we find paint used to keep flies away. (Spearing, *The Childhood of Art,* London, 1912, p. 381.) Paint is not only a medicine, but a sign, sometimes of maturity (thus among some Tapuyas of Brazil, if the girl, "be marriageable, and yet not courted by any, the mother paints her with some red colour about the eyes." Nieuhoff, "Voyages and Travels into Brazil"; Pinkerton, "Collection of Voyages," XVI:878). The Maidu, however, erase paint from the girl, in order to show that her first menstruation is over. Tooth filing also serves as a sign; thus, in the Malay Archipelago the common way of saying the girl has arrived at puberty is to say, "she has had her teeth filed." (Crawford, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago,* 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1820, Vol. I, pp. 215 *et seq.*) So, too, the various taboos are explained: the Kafir girl must not see the sun, "lest she shrivel up" (Kidd, Dudley, *The Essential Kafir.* London, 1904, p. 209); the same is true of sun and fire among the Déné; among the Yaraikanna, if struck by the sun, her nose will be diseased; she must eat nothing that lives in the salt water, or a snake will kill her; she must not wear a buckskin headdress, or the deer will be displeased, and, in later years, give her headache (Lillooet); so among the Tarahumares of Mexico, she must not touch deer antlers, or her breasts will fall off (Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico,* New York, 1902, p. 274). She must not eat the uterus, head or feet of any animal, to prevent abscess in the ear (Tahltan). Among the Assiniboine there is strict taboo that no menstruating girl step over anyone, or see the sick, or approach a medicine bundle, in order to prevent her from menstruating indefinitely. (Lowie); the Shoshone give the same reason for restricting the girl to a vegetable diet (Lowie);

the Maidu carefully guard her from sight of blood, lest she be very ill (Dixon).

Explanations of the Australian Arunta and Ilfirra tribes are similarly explicit. If food restrictions are violated a series of evil physical consequences will follow, non-development of the breasts, malformation of the genitals, continued flow of the menses, premature age, abnormal sex desire, etc. Girls are allowed to eat only young nestlings otherwise she will not be able to nurse her child. (85:472-473.)

Customs of the second type have to do usually with childbirth, and rearing. Thus the Diegueños, and the Mission Indians, "roast" the girl, and throw seeds over her to influence the organ of generation, and to make her prolific. This ceremony has also a religious meaning. The new hair arrangement of the Hopi, imitating the mature squash, while the former coiffure has suggested the blossom, is explained as a sign of maturity, "and to promote fertility." Among the Zuñi, at the ceremony of the Rabbit Hunt of the Gods, the first rabbit is killed, and the blood allowed to trickle down the girl's legs for the sake of her fecundity. Among the Lkuñgen, the head of any fish is tabooed, so that she may "secure good luck in marriage." The Shuswap girl goes through a regular course of physical training to insure the strength of her child. She undergoes burning, etc., to enable her to withstand the pain of childbirth. Similar ordeals are common in Africa and elsewhere. Many taboos relate to the child. If the Tahltan girl ate the feet of the mountain-goat, the child would be lazy, and a poor traveler. The girl, among the Tarahumares, will not eat the pancreas, for fear of childlessness. So, long periods of fasting are performed for the good of offspring. The Tlingit girl fasts, and eats sparingly for eight months in order to insure the rebirth of her dead relative. The most conspicuous example is the fast of the girls and boys in the Andaman Islands, as a "test for fitness for marriage, and endurance and self-denial requisite to support a family" (51:62). Throughout the other types of reasons there are constant references to the future generation, on the social and religious side, as well as the physical.

3. *Pedagogical.*

Here, too, we find motives readily separated into those which concern personal training of the girl, and those which relate

to her preparation for life in the group. Both vary in degree from the mere song among the Maidu, enumerating all kinds of agricultural work and food products expected of the girl in future, to the four year period of education among some of the Indians of British Columbia, and the elaborate training of girls in great seminaries among the ancient Mexicans. (Mason.)*

It is no accident that these examples have been chosen from America; whatever the modern educational status of the American girl may be, it is a fact that, among the American Indians, she received the highest degree of attention to be found among any primitive people.

The following modes of personal training are common: walking, running, leaping, digging, climbing, swimming, to obtain tirelessness and lightness of foot (Shuswap, Lillooet, etc.); carrying pots of water, "that she may be strong" (Kafir); hard labor at the home of her future mother-in-law during the first day of the first menstruation, "to promote industry and fertility" (Hopi Indians); vigils for long periods so that she will not be lazy (Cheyenne Indians). Among the Haida the same purpose is served by sleeping on rocks. The Thompson Indians ceremonially flog both sexes at adolescence to prevent laziness. The African Bawenda beat girls, and chill them for hours in the river, "to harden them" (Wassmann). Other forms of hard usage are prescribed to "prepare them for future tasks as wives and mothers." Beating, as preparation for matrimony, also occurs at Torres Straits. Among the Shekani the girl submits to hard treatment, undergoes long fasting and gazing at the sun till a swoon is produced, "to break the will of the candidate, and provide secrecy"; also "to produce submission and bravery." The A-Kikuyu sing a special song to preserve the courage of the girl during circumcision. (Routledge, W. S., *With a Prehistoric People.* London, 1910, p. 155.) Among the Akamba, elaborate precautions are taken to test the

* NOTE: Some of the education of the girl in ancient Mexico was given by the mother, as is shown on ancient inscriptions, the girl was taught cooking, meal preparation, weaving, pottery, and decoration. Her food allowance and punishments were the same as those of the boy. At eight punishment was with thorns, at ten with clubs, at eleven with fire. (Tozzer, Alfred M., "The Value of Ancient Mexican Manuscripts in the study of the General Development of Writing." *Ann. Report of the Smithsonian Inst.*, Washington, 1911 [1912], pp. 493-506).

girl's courage during this operation; two balls of goat's dung are balanced on toe and knee, and, if one of them falls to the ground, the girl is disgraced and must throw away the warrior's garments with which she has been clad. (Hobley, C. W., *Ethnology of the A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes.* Cambridge, 1910. pp. 68-77.) Vomiting is resorted to among the Luiseño, to free from badness, or to detect badness. (48:31.) Girls among the Indians of North Carolina were formerly secluded in the dark, "to harden them." (Ploss.) The Haida practiced seclusion, fasting and vigils, so that the girl might avoid garrulousness or excessive hilarity in later life (Swanton.). During the severe trials of the Queensland tribes, advice is given, "to soften the heart"; while the Kurnai knead the stomach, "to drive out selfishness and greed." The Vuntakutchin Indians give the naïve reason for seclusion, careful guarding, intermittent fasting and taboos extending over a year, that this will prevent a second year of seclusion as a punishment. The "roasting" ceremony common to the Luiseño, Diegueños, and other Mission Indians, contains features of gift-giving, exhortation, etc., to teach the girls to be generous and to give to the poor and needy. (68:28.) Property and gifts are distributed by the Assiniboine, "to honor the girl." So, the dramatic presentation of culture-history of the South West Athapascans, is for the purpose of securing for the girl "a happy, useful and honorable life." (31:266.)

Thus, the modes of education are not always severe. The Maidu have a good woman breathe or whistle into the mouth of the girl, so that she will be brave and good natured (Dixon). During the seclusion and fast of some of the Brazilian Indians, the father sings at dawn to encourage the girl, and to enumerate the kinds of food she soon may eat. So, the father of the girl of some of the peoples of Torres Straits, weeps when she returns from her month long-seclusion, to express his sorrow for her absence. (Yam and Tutu Islands.) The Korean capping-ceremony emphasized the pedagogic value of assumption of garments of maturity: "In this fortunate moon and on this lucky day an addition is made to your dress. You must now discard all childish thoughts, and obey, so that you may attain perfect virtue. May you live long and attain much happiness by the aid of this blessing." (49:518.)

Occasionally we find no education given. Among the Masai, "prior to marriage the young girls do nothing of a menial

nature. They spend their time in dancing, singing, and adorning themselves; and though they live with the warriors they are exempted from all work. More usually they do not even cook the food they eat." (Hinde, S. L., and H., *The Last of the Masai,* London, 1901, p. 67.)

Customs to train the girl for social duties are especially numerous. The "Greegree Bush," of the Väi of Liberia, gives extensive training in manners, morals, industry, and the wisdom and folk-lore of the tribe. The A-Kamba have sticks, carved with riddles containing tribal secrets, and wisdom, which must first be constructed and then solved by the girls before they are released. The A-Kamba combine both symbolism and systematic instruction. As the candidates arrive for the initiation ceremony they are met by an elder, an old man for the boys, an old woman for the girls. Each is given a sip of native beer, and ushered into the hut. Here they are seized by an elder and thrust through a back door, where a freshly built door leads into the woods. The girls must gather firewood and the boys must hunt. When they return to the village they must use the new door and new road, and thenceforth during the ceremony. The young people stay in the hut eight days, and are lectured to daily. Boys sleep on one side, girls on the other. Boys are taught to make bows and arrows; the girls learn basket making. Tutors (Mubwiki), are responsible for their conduct. (39:74.) The Baganda give special instruction and hold a ceremony, so that the girl may "be a successful manager of a plantain grove and to be an expert cook." (Roscoe, J., *The Baganda.* London, 1911, pp. 75-79.) Thus the Yaos have ceremonial performance of agriculture to train them for the future; while their supreme duty is indicated by groups of girls carrying about for some time a miniature house, or skeleton roof on their shoulders, as "symbolical of their position as pillars of the home." (94:126.) Although this symbolical method of education is very common, and is found everywhere, as well as that consisting solely of imitation, systematic instruction is by no means lacking, as is seen among the Shuswap, where girls practice, under instruction of parent or attendant, arts and crafts for years that they "might be fitted to fill a useful place in the family."

Sex-pedagogy for the adolescent girl is rarely neglected among primitive peoples. Among methods used are, direct instruction by the mother, or old women, physical practices and

operations, songs and dances, ceremonies, acts of initiation, courtship, sexual intercourse, nakedness, examinations for virginity (Pedi-Bantu), ceremonies employing objects of nature as symbols and modes of imagery, religious rites performed with reference to generation, legends and tales illustrating the cosmic process as among the Omaha (25:495), guarding, seclusion, taboos, exhortations, as contrasted with the girl's admission to complete freedom in many different areas of the world, and finally the method of direct observation. This appears among the Bontoc Igorot, where the young child is admitted to the Olag, or club house of the unmarried women, and observes the concourse of lovers from her early years. (Jenks.) Similarly, Nordenskiöld reports of some Rio Pilcomayo Indians that girls have nothing to learn of sex-life after puberty, though unchastity is extremely rare. So Powers remarks of the California Achomâwi, one of the most primitive tribes of North America:

"An Achômawi mother seldom teaches her daughters any of the arts of barbaric housekeeping before their marriage. They learn them by imitation and experiment after they have grown old enough to perceive the necessity thereof. . . . As children are taught nothing, so they are never punished . . . it is a wonder that they grow up with any virtue whatever, for the conversation of their elders in their presence is often of the filthiest description. But the children of savages far less often make wreck of body and soul than do those of the civilized, because when the great mystery of maturity confronts them they know what it means and how to meet it." (64: 271.)

4. *Religious and Magical.*

Miss Fletcher has best described the attitude of the American Indian to the period of puberty, in its religious significance: "The maturity of the sexes is a period of serious and religious experiences which are preparatory by their character for the entrance of the youth or maiden into the religious and secular responsibilities of life, both individual and tribal. Among the tribes which hold especial public ceremonies announcing the maturity of a girl, these rites are held not far from the actual time of puberty, and indicate the close of childhood and entrance of the person into the social status of womanhood. The public festival has, however, been preceded by private religious rites." (*Smithsonian Report,* 1889-1890, p. 484.) Among the Omaha and their cognates, this conception was expressed by

the rite of *Nozhizho,* not obligatory for girls, but open to them. The term "*Nozhizho*" is "to stand sleeping," "meaning that during the rite the person stands as if oblivious of the outward world and conscious only of what transpires in his own mind. He enters into personal relation with the mysterious power that permeates and controls all nature." The mind is now said "to become white"; "in native symbolism night is the mother of day, so the mind of the newborn child is dark, like the night of its birth; gradually it begins to discern and remember things, as objects seen in the early dawn; finally it is able to remember and observe discriminatingly, then the mind is said to be 'white,' as with the clear light of day. . . . He is on the verge of his conscious individual life. He is 'old enough to know sorrow.' " Thus, the rite is performed in the spring. Clay is put on the head. Some of the Indians explain it as meaning "humility"; others say that it refers to "soft clay or mud brought up by the diving animals, out of which the earth was created." After long fast the adolescent gains a vision of animal or plant, which must be procured, and becomes a trophy or visible sign of the vision, "the union with the unseen." (25:128-133.) A very important element in the rite is the fact that the adolescent, in dreaming of the moon, may see a burden strap, or a bundle of arrows held out. Thus if a youth receives the burden strap, emblem of the woman's life, he must pursue her avocations, use her language and dress; while the same is the case with the maiden. Here, the fundamental nature of the life-rôle is determined at puberty, by means of the secret consciousness and inclination of the individual. A similar conception and practice is found among the Shuswap, Lillooet, and others; the change must be made, always at puberty, or at the end of training. Bearing of this custom on the problems of the modern adolescent, will be apparent when we turn to compare the primitive with the present-day treatment of delinquency in girls.

The above account has been given in detail because it illustrates concretely two significant points, first, that the simplest rite may have profound religious significance, often lost to a less highly trained observer than Miss Fletcher; second, the exact meaning of primitive ritual and symbolism may be differently explained by members of the same tribe, and hence we should draw up no adamantine scheme of conclusions.

Religious and magical explanations of puberty-customs often turn on guarding the girl from evil. Thus the Lillooet and the Maidu (Dixon) use a deer-hoof rattle to "protect from evil influences and to keep off ghosts." (Teit.) Among the Ts'et-s'aut, a special hat and amulets are worn constantly, and the face is blackened, "to protect from evil." (4:609.) Beating, sometimes causing death, cicatrization, stinging with poison plants and insects are used, "to banish evil." (Caribs, some Uaupès, some African tribes.) The milder form is seen among the Mission Indians, who wave branches, "to keep off spirits." (68:32.) Seclusion serves the same purpose: "to guard against 'mystery'" (Tlingit), to guard against supernatural power (Salinan), to keep away evil spirits (Väi, Gola-Mendi, etc.). Other means of warding off demons, such as offerings, juggling, exorcism, torches, songs, lustration, anointing, etc., have already been mentioned among the Cochin tribes and castes. The Anyanya rename the girl, "to deceive evil spirits"; the Pima Indians consider the name during puberty as taboo, if spoken, the girl will have "bad luck." The numerous taboos often keep the girl from evil. Thus the sun and fire taboo among the Ahts is explained. This conception reaches its most elaborate form among the Shasta Indians, where all taboos of food, sleep, sun, moon, fire, clear water are to "keep off evil spirits and dreams," further precautions being taken by sleeping with the head in a basket, the opening of which has been guarded with a magic stick, burned and renewed each morning. (Dixon.)

Other explanations deal with guarding the community from evil. Among the Shastas, if all expedients failed to keep dreams of public calamity from the girl, she was burnt as sacrifice. So, in New Caledonia, she is severely whipped, to drive illness from the chief. Among many peoples she is secluded, "to prevent loss of game supply" (Déné); "to protect the animals," or so that "the luck of the hunter will not disappear." (Tlingit, Malemut, etc., etc.)

Many customs are explained as consecratory or purifying in function. The Wintun of California gave the girl the sacred broth, or drink of "khlup" or buckeye, in order to consecrate them; it served also as a preparation for skilful dancing. (64:168.) We have considered the rite of circumcision from this point of view. Fire, tests, ordeals, isolation, and fasts are

used for purification among many peoples. Disappearance into the mountains (Thompson Indians), "smoking" the girl over sweet grass and burning coals, gifts, dieting and purging are means of purification among American tribes. (Cheyenne, Mission, Pawnee, etc.) Sexual intercourse, both before and after puberty is sometimes held necessary for purification. Instances among Asiatic peoples have already been given, in the section on primitive theories of menstruation. If this custom is omitted among the Nayars (Cochin), the girl is considered religiously impure, and is prohibited from entering temples.

Means taken to insure spiritual welfare for the girl are: prayers (Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, etc., and many African tribes), offerings, to obtain blessings, or guardian spirit, to become liberal, or to secure spiritual insight, and the ability to detect witchcraft, etc. (Mission, Omaha, Yokuts, etc.), drawings and paintings on rocks (Thompson, and other tribes of British Columbia, some of Mission tribes, etc.), preservation of the first blood (Australians), and divination by means of blood of the first menstruation (Kaniyans and others).

Other customs are explained as done in obedience to a divine command. Illustrations were seen in the treatment of tattooing. The Pelew Islanders believe that perforation of the nasal septum is necessary for winning eternal bliss. Tooth-knocking among the Dieyerie of Australia is due to the command of a good spirit, Muramura, who did so to the first human child, and was so pleased with the result that he commanded all others to do the same.

The religious conception of the sanctity of puberty is occasionally found, as has already been apparent. Among the Ceram Laut, "only a virgin arrived at puberty and a young boy are permitted to mix the holy oil used in ceremonial." So, with the Zuñi, the adolescent girl, though not necessarily virgin, is the central figure in the corn rites of the sacred Corn Maidens. (86:196.) The Athapascan drama-ceremony has also strongly religious features. In the Tusayan Snake Ceremonies, a girl and a boy are chosen to represent the sacred characters. (Fewkes, *Sixteenth Ann. Report of Bur. of Amer. Ethnol.*, 1894-1896.) The Dravidians used formerly to sacrifice a young girl, and allow her blood to drip to the ploughed fields to insure the stability and fertility of the earth.

For additional references to the religious significance of puberty for both sexes, see also Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (New York, 1898, pp. 197-200).

5. *Social.*

The following explanations emphasize the relation of the adolescent girl to society, although many of the reasons already given are also determined more or less by social factors.

Puberty, as a period of socialization, is recognized by entrance of the girl into various groups and secret societies. The *Olag* of the Bontoc Igorot, numerous girls' houses in Africa, traces of a kind of freemasonry among women of certain of the Melanesians (Seligmann) suggest this. More definite is the society formed by the Mpongwe, to which girls are admitted at puberty, "to protect them from harsh treatment by the men. Girls circumcised together, among some of the Bantu form a fraternity. Girls among the Navaho undergo the rite of flagellation as admission to a secret society. So, too, the Zuñi girls may enter various fraternal organizations. Among the Australian Central tribes, there exists now no elaborate social initiation for girls as with boys. Formerly, however, such rites are said by the Australians themselves to have existed for girls. (85:457.)

Social aspects of seclusion, taboos, mutilations, etc., have been neglected by most writers. Thus the Baganda mother sometimes produces deep scarification upon her daughters at puberty, "so they would not be chosen as wives of the king." (Roscoe.) Among some of the Australians, the little finger is mutilated and eaten off by ants, as a distinguishing mark of the tribe. Among the Australian Arunta and Ilfirra tribes failure on the part of the girl to perform the sand-winnowing ceremony, and to undergo the operation of noseboring would be regarded as a grave offense against her mother. (85:459.) A very human social reason for depilation is given by the Bontoc Igorot, "they pull out the pelvic hair in order that they will not be noticeable when they work or travel naked, they wish to appear like the children, they say." (43:42.) So, with seclusion, flogging and hard usage of the girl among some of the Algonkian tribes; it is done that the girl may become a healer and bringer of good fortune to the community, and that she may insure safe childbirth to women. Thus the

Jicarilla ceremony is performed, "to bring good fortune to the whole community." (31:266.) The Seri *jacal,* in which the girl resides for a year in complete freedom, is for the purpose of establishing the probation of her future husband. (McGee.) So the gambling-stick practice of the girl among the Shuswap is intended to secure luck for the man who will marry her. (Teit.) Similarly with taboos, although a large portion are designed to keep the girl from evil, or to educate her, it is evident that many are conceived entirely from the social point of view. In the Torres Straits all have reference to the protection of the food supply. Can we not envisage this sort of taboo as a primitive system of taxation levied by society on the girl, at a period when her social instinct is beginning to expand?

It has been, of course, impossible to enumerate the entire list of 219 native explanations of puberty customs. In the material studied, their distribution in the above groups has been as follows: esthetic, 9; physical, 29; pedagogical, 29; religious, 70; social, 82.

VII. Sex-Discrimination

The ancient problem of sex-discrimination, involving natural sex-differences, economic and social conditions, religion, premarital status, etc., strikes at the root of the problem of adolescence. The degree of sex-discrimination is well indicated in puberty-ceremonies, since these are merely crystallized expressions of a fairly permanent attitude. Discrimination may be against the girl, as shown in the data collected by Webster and Schurtz. It may be in favor of the girl, as with the Maidu, Shasta and Seri tribes of North America.

A. *Absence of Discrimination*

The following peoples, however, seem to have no sex-discrimination in their puberty-ceremonies, or if it occurs it is of minimum degree:

Africa: A-Kamba; A-Kikuyu; Bamangwato (here the "girls flog boys of the same age to prove if they are men"); Bantu (some tribes); Basuto; Bawenda; Cross River Natives; ancient Egyptians (apparently none); Gola; Kafir; Masai; Mendi; Nandi; Shekani; Suk; Väi; Yaos.

Asia: Ahoms; Alfurese; Andamanese; ancient Brahmans (among modern Brahmans restrictions required of girls are common also to students, ascetics, mourners, or the sick); Burmans; Cambodians (same customs for

boys, if they are to be educated; discrimination exists between different social classes of girls); Chamars; Kadars; Koreans; Lolos of Kientchang; Lushei-Kuki clans, of Tibeto-Burman stock; Nicobarese; pagan races of the Malay Peninsula (some tribes); ancient Semites (both youths and girls offered as sacred prostitutes); ancient Syrians (both sexes offered hair as puberty sacrifice); Forest and Rock Veddas.

INDONESIA, AUSTRALASIA, POLYNESIA: Australia (some of the Central tribes; Queensland tribes); Bontoc Igorot; Borneo (some tribes, including the Kayan); Ceram Laut: Land Dyaks (while the Sea Dyaks of same race and culture practise much discrimination); Easter Island; Koita; Massim; Melanesians (some tribes); Muralag; Papuans (some tribes); Saibai of Torres Straits; Sabanuns of Sindangan Bay; Tasmanians; Tutu of Torres Straits; Tubetube; Yam Island natives; Yule Island (some tribes).

NORTH AMERICA: Eskimo (some tribes); Athapascan or Déné (some tribes); Hopi; Lillooet of Salishan stock; Miwok; Navaho; Omaha and cognates (some tribes); Pawnee; Pima; Shuswap and Thompson, of Salishan stock; Yuchi; Zuñi.

SOUTH AMERICA: Arawak (some tribes); Ashuslays; Bolivia (some tribes); Chorotis (apparently); Coroados (according to Ploss); Quechuas; Goajiros; Karajá; Onas; Peru (some tribes); Uaupés (some tribes apparently); Yahgans.

B. *Discriminations Common to Other Social Groups*

In addition to this list, there are numerous peoples who give to each sex an equal degree of attention, but the mode of treatment is fundamentally different. Again, among some peoples the girl at puberty merely enters into a situation, analogous to that of other groups in the community, such as warriors, shamen, adolescent boys, hunters, sowers and reapers, mourners, pregnant women, husbands, fathers, etc., who are occasionally or permanently regarded as requiring special attention. In other words, this kind of discrimination is not based on what separates the sexes, but upon that which unites them, i. e., common disabilities arising from primitive conceptions of the taboo that attends a crisis. Van Gennep has sought to demonstrate a sequence of initiation ceremonies, or "rites de passage," for every important stage of life. Each stage, or crisis, is thus interdependent. Hence, according to Van Gennep, so-called "puberty-rites" cannot be understood, if the point of view of sequence is ignored. It is, however, equally true, and has been equally ignored, that customs relating to

the adolescent girl cannot be studied apart from their relation to other social groups and classes.

The following illustrations are typical of this relation. Warriors among the Déné Indians, for the first four campaigns, had to undergo the same taboos as the girl during her seclusion. Boys were required to use the scratch-stick and sinew-charms in the same manner. Boys among the Creek Indians during their twelve months of initiation also used the scratch-stick, and were prohibited from touching head or ears with the hands. (Bourke.) The Ojibwa (Algonkian) warriors, for the first three campaigns, could not touch the head with the hands. (Compare the numerous taboos relating to the head of the adolescent girl, with the widespread practice of preserving the whole, or part of the human head, particularly in the case of shamans. Dall, W. H., "On Masks, Labrets, and Certain Aboriginal Customs," *Third Ann. Report Bur. Ethnol.,* 1881, pp. 73-202; especially see p. 94.) The Pima warrior, after killing an enemy, must undergo strictest seclusion for sixteen days; he must fast four days, and for two days go without water. During this entire period his wife must not eat salt. He is not permitted to touch his head with his fingers, but must use the scratch-stick, the head being covered with plaster of mud. He must keep absolute silence, and bathe frequently in the river. For some time after his seclusion he must stand back till all others are served, when partaking of food and drink. (69:204-205; compare 7:475-476.) Similar customs for warriors and those who shed human blood are found in widely different areas. Among the Fijians, the son of a chief, after killing his first man, is rigorously secluded for three days; he is forbidden to sleep, to lie down, or to change his dress. His head is anointed with red tumeric and oil. (14:552.) Kafirs and Bechuanas practice ceremonies of purification after their fights. Bantu tribes shave their heads after killing anyone in battle. Among the Wagogo, of German East Africa, the father of a youth who has shed blood gives him a goat, "to cleanse his sword." Thus, as Westermarck also points out, a state of uncleanness is incurred by shedding human blood, but this does not necessarily involve moral guilt. Purification is necessary to free the individual and the community from the

danger of infection. Gradually, however, its cause becomes part of moral disapproval, and the state and act of purification are looked upon as a punishment. (96.I:233.) We have seen how exactly this state of affairs is approximated by the girl during her first menstruation.

So, too, the father or husband of the pubescent girl may incur a like disability. Among the Northern Maidu, the husband must live on the same food as the girl during menstruation, and he is debarred from hunting. (Dixon.) Certain Eskimo tribes restrict the youth betrothed to the girl from hunting during the period of her seclusion; this lasts one month, and meanwhile the youth undergoes a mitigated fast. There are also many other examples. Among the Thompson Indians, the father of a girl just arrived at puberty may not hunt nor trap for a month, and undergoes various restrictions. (Teit.) Similar taboos exist for the husband of the pregnant woman, as is seen to an extreme degree among the Melanesians and others who practice the "couvade." (Codrington, *The Melanesians,* Oxford, 1891, p. 228.)

Mourners are subject to special treatment in almost all parts of the world. (See 96.I: Chapt. xxxvii.) The Bogos of Africa prescribe a three-day fast for a son after the death of his father. Among the Brazilian Paressi the fast is for six days. The new born child with the Hare Indians is not allowed food until four days after birth, in order to "accustom it to fasting in the next world." While among the Tlingit and Songish Indians the child is made to vomit. (12:147-149.) Parents among Upper Thompson River Indians abstained from fresh meat for several months after the death of a child. (Teit.) The Tlingits, and some peoples in British Columbia, regard mourners as being in a delicate condition; their faces are blackened, and they cover the head with ragged mats. They must speak little, as it is believed they would otherwise become chatterboxes. These customs find constant analogies in the primitive attitude toward the adolescent girl.

It is impossible, in the limits of this thesis to give a comprehensive list of customs common to adolescents of both sexes, among the same people. It is easy, however, as is seen in the list of "Constituent Elements of Puberty Customs," to point out identities of treatment when the whole world is considered.

C. *Some Factors of Discrimination*

1. *Social Class.*

Social class is scarcely less influential in producing discrimination than sex, or race. This is seen among the Siamese, Cambodians, natives of the New Britain Group, among whom the very poor mark puberty, only by donning fringes across the shoulders, while those of the middle class are "caged" for a few months or years, and the rich undergo many restrictions and "caging," from the years of early childhood, up to maturity (16:285-294); some of the Cochin tribes and castes, where, in spite of the maximum degree of attention almost universally paid to puberty of girls, those who are very poor dispense with any ceremony (42.I:156-157), Ahoms, some of the Melanesians and many others. Distinction based on class would indicate that the puberty ceremony is not so much an initiation of the girl into sexual life, as into the social status of her people. We have noted the impinging of the ideas of the old upon the ceremonies and activities of adolescence.; this is seen nowhere more clearly than in discriminations based on religion and pre-marital status.

2. *Religion.*

The prominence of the religious element in puberty-ceremonies suggests that religion may be a causal factor in the degree and kind of discrimination in vogue. The problem arises, is there correlation between the religious ideas of a people and their treatment of the adolescent girl? In Abyssinia the cult of the Virgin, and that of a pagan goddess of chastity, show themselves in the rite of circumcision; in certain other parts of Africa where girls, at puberty, acquire special guardian divinities, we have seen that there is minimum sex-discrimination. The larger problem now emerges as to whether the presence or absence of female deities in tribal religion exerts an influence on the mode of treatment. So vast are the dimensions of this question, that we here can do no more than to state it. Many other factors enter, particularly those of economic-social environment. Facts seem to point to the conclusion, however, that the female-deity conception does influence the girl's status in puberty-ceremonial.

Among the Zuñis, the supreme life-giving power is bisexual,

referred to as He-She, *Awonawilóna;* this conception dominates the whole of their religion and observance. In addition to this fundamental recognition of the female element there are, in Zuñi belief, numerous woman-gods, the Moon Mother, Earth Mother, giver of vegetation, Corn Mother, and the ten Corn Maidens, upon whom even the gods of war in myth depend (p. 51), Salt Mother, and finally the Mother of Game. (86: 22, 23, 90.) Parallel to this religious emphasis of the feminine we find no discrimination between the sexes at puberty; girls as well as boys may be theurgists, and through voluntary initiation enter the *Kótikili* fraternity, who personify the gods. (p. 423.) The most sacred religious festival of the Zuñi is the drama of *hlá-hewe* (when corn is foot high) or the reappearance of the corn maidens to earth. (p. 180.) It is performed by girls ornamented with cloud, sun, crescent, and star symbols. (p. 194.)

Similar observance is found in the Pawnee *Hako* ceremony, where "all the people must unite their wills" to that of the woman in capacity of the Corn Mother, who leads them forth to a state of mystic union with the cosmos. Here, as previously noted, no discrimination exists between the sexes at the period of puberty (23).

Omaha tribes and cognates furnish another conspicuous example of this parallellism (25).

So, among the Central Eskimo, as reported by Boas, the girl Sedna is regarded as a secondary deity, creator of all things having life, animal and vegetable; she is protector and monopolist of the sea and the sea animals. She is the protecting divinity of the Innuit, and most of their religious rites have reference to her. (4:583-587.) Among them also the sun is a woman (p. 598), her brother being the moon; while three sisters make lightning, thunder and rain (p. 600). Here we find minimum or no discrimination during the adolescence of the sexes. Girls may become shamans or *angakoks.* (Rink, cited in 12:322.)

The most conspicuous example is that of the Yuchi, among whom men, in honor of the Sun-mother, actually place themselves in the condition ceremonially of menstruating women through the rite of scarification. Here absolutely no discrimination exists between the sexes at puberty.

In other parts of the world, similar conditions obtain. The

Subanuns of Sindangan Bay have no puberty observance; both boys and girls may become shamans with equal privilege, but the women are said to be particularly potent with female spiritual beings. The sexes grow up in absolute equality, both being trained in industrial occupations. (13:53-73.)

In India, we see, on one hand the widespread influence of the cult of the bloodthirsty goddess *Kali,* on the other, the over-stress of puberty in girls, premature intercourse, demonology, etc., among numerous native tribes and castes. (Cochin district, etc., 42.) So with the ancient Semites the custom of religious prostitution was correlated with the worship of a supreme goddess to whom a young god was subordinate. (Hogarth, in 22.I:143.) The Bush Negroes of British Guiana in adopting certain phases of Christianity have humanized the Trinity, by including Mary; thus they speak of "God, Jesu, and Mari." (Furlong, inform'n, 1913.) For numerous other types of female deities see Asozer's *The Living God,* pp. 126-278, and 79:234-236.

Whatever the causal relation between the presence of female divinities and the amount of sex-discrimination may be, it is impossible not to assume a great pedagogic influence exerted by these divinities upon the life of the adolescent girl. Christianity (Catholicism) recognizes in its female divinity only the virtue of chastity, yet the influence of the Virgin-Cult has been enormous. (See Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine,* London, Macmillan, 1912.) Among those primitive peoples where the female deities are great racial spirits, endowed with power as creators, inventors, patrons of industry and arts, workers in magic, both good and malign, can we not conceive a profound influence exerted upon the adolescent girl taught to reverence such supernatural beings of her own sex?

3. *Pre-marital Status.*

The pre-marital status of the girl is a strong determinant of sex-discrimination. On this point the greatest variation prevails.

Among certain peoples both sexes possess absolute liberty before marriage. (96.II:422-423.) In addition to the cases here cited and those mentioned previously, we find the following: The Andaman Islanders consider the girl entirely free; intercourse is a mode of courtship, marriage almost in-

variably following pregnancy. (51:67.) Among some of the Melanesians (Koita, Motu, etc.), unmarried boys and girls are allowed to act as they please in regard to their sexual relations. "The greatest decorum is, however, observed between the sexes. . . . In spite of the prevailing license, illegitimate children are very rare." (76:134.) The same statement is made of certain African peoples. In 1778 it was noted that girls in Tahiti were nearly the equals of the men in social position and intelligence, and that they possessed complete equality in love affairs. (Forster, J. R., *Observ. Made on a Voy. Round the World,* 1778, pp. 231, 409-422.) In Samoa the girl enjoys complete liberty. Here the girl may rise to a position of dignity and authority almost as great as the chief. She becomes *taupou,* or maid of the village; she must be a chief's daughter, and she exercises control over the women and girls. (44, I:64-65.)

With all these people, the sexes are on an equality, both as regards degree of ceremonial, and as to responsibility incurred by their relations.

Westermarck has compiled a list of peoples who look on unchastity with horror and punish it severely, sometimes with death. (96.II:424-426.) To this group belong the Veddas, Igorots of Luzon, certain Australian and African tribes. The author concludes, "among primitive peoples in majority of cases where chastity is required of unmarried girls the seducer also is considered guilty of a crime," usually, he adds, against the family of the girl, for the harm done to the girl herself does not occur to the savage mind. (96.II:437.) Havelock Ellis also assumes this to be the case. (21:147-148.) This is exactly the reverse among certain peoples, for example the Bontoc Igorot.

Here the custom is to bonus the unmarried mother, or at least to endow her with certain rights. No woman in the Bontoc pueblo fails to enter into the trial union of the Ôlag, where the only instruction she receives is "the necessity for maternity." (43:67-68.) "A girl is almost invariably faithful to her temporary lover"; usually marriage follows pregnancy. If, however, the youth deserts the girl, his father must give her a rice sementera which enables her to support herself and gives her certain rights in the community. (43:67.) It has been pointed out that ancient Egypt was among the first

to express the dignity of motherhood; a woman's child was never illegitimate, not even the child of a slave. (Amélineau cited, 21:394.) The Wanyamwezi of Eastern Africa leave their property to their illegitimate children, even to the exclusion of the offspring of their wives, because those of unmarried mothers require more assistance. (96:II:424 et seq.) Among the Wanyoro, if a girl dies in childbirth, her seducer is also condemned to die. Among some of the Sea Dyaks (Sibuyans), it is held that an unmarried girl-mother is an offense to the gods, but instead of chastising the individual these punish the community with misfortune. Tribal authorities then collect a fine from the lovers to assist in making the necessary sacrifice. In this practice we see entire absence of sex-discrimination, and even recognition that the tribe is responsible for a young girl's delinquency, though she may aid in the removal of the penalty.

The pre-marital status of women in colonial New England may, in some respects be compared to that of certain primitive peoples. *"Bundling,"* as a mode of courtship, occurring in the New England colonies (lasting till 1845 in some quarters, 40:182), and in New York and Pennsylvania, is analogous to the freedom accorded youth for intimate premarital acquaintance among peoples previously cited. (40:181-187.) On the other hand the attitude of New England Puritanism to women guilty of sexual immorality presents striking contrast to primitive conditions. Discrimination in treatment against the woman was present in severe form. (40:174-175.)

Many people, as the Zuñi and the Omaha, favor chastity, but are not harsh in treatment of the unmarried mother. With the Omaha, girls and youths were socially on a moral equality. A man was responsible for all his children, while blame was equally shared. "If a girl committed indiscretions and later led a moral life her acts were not held against her, or her husband or children, *though they were remembered.*" She was permitted to win back by subsequent conduct her lost status. (25:324-325.) Thus the Zuñi dealt with the problem. The unmarried mother is kindly treated. Deep regret is expressed at her conduct, but all consideration is shown her and her child. None of the ceremonies at birth are omitted. (86:302.)

Quite otherwise was it among the ancient Hebrews and many others, ancient and modern. Sexual irregularity was forbidden to women, but not to men. (Leviticus, XIX:29; Deut.,

XXIII:18.) In Persia an unmarried girl who gave birth to a child would be killed. (96:II:428.) A priest's daughter among the Jews could profane him by her unchastity, and was doomed to be burned. (Leviticus, XXI:9.) Death is still the penalty with many African tribes. In the above instances, only the girl is held responsible (as with the Iroquois, for the different reason that woman's social position and therefore her control of the situation is deemed superior to the man's); and among these peoples the degree of pre-marital discrimination is closely correlated with discrimination of social status in general.

Schurtz maintains as a general law that, whenever the free union of adolescents is impeded, under conditions in which early marriage is also rendered difficult, prostitution must certainly arise. (74:190.) Havelock Ellis agrees to this and notes cases of the introduction of prostitution among primitive peoples, indirectly by missionaries, and others who disturb the customary relations of the sexes. As examples he cites the Bantu Bambola, and the natives of the South Sea island of Rotuma. (21:235.)

The tenor of the work of Jane Addams (*A New Conscience and An Ancient Evil,* New York, 1912), is clearly to establish the relation of economic pressure upon youth in causing late marriage, and prostitution. It is important to note, however, that the evil is ancient, but not primitive, in the sense of existing among the most uncultured. Even so scientific a writer as Jane Addams has not made this distinction. (See pp. 3-4, 218. See also p. 208, where Forel is quoted against the view of the primitive origin of prostitution.)

4. *Inversion.*

Closely allied to the question of pre-marital status is the problem of homosexuality. We have seen how this is met by Indians of British Columbia and the Omaha. Westermarck asserts "It probably occurs, at least sporadically among every race of mankind." (96:II:456.) We have little data as to relative frequency of distribution among the sexes with primitive peoples. Havelock Ellis sums up the chief data, noting that in certain tribes of Brazilian Indians women frequently adopt all the ways of men. (22:80 et seqq.) Dr. Holder, who has made special study of the *bote* among the American In-

dians, states that he has met no corresponding phenomenon in women. (*N. Y. Med. Journ.*, Dec. 7, 1889.) It is evident, however, among some of the American Indians of the Pacific Coast, the Omaha, and the Kamchadals of Northern Asia. All evidence goes to show, however, that the mode of treatment exhibits no sex-discrimination. This problem is of special importance in relation to modern delinquency and abnormality. Among primitive peoples, a useful and appropriate life-rôle is commonly furnished the inverted individual. It is quite possible that modern policy could profitably go to school to the primitive in this regard.

VIII. *Some Suggestions as to Modern Application*

When we seek to compare data of this study with that relating to modern conditions we find a dearth of analogous material. Modern literature on the adolescent girl falls into two classes, first, a great wealth of anthropometric and biological studies dealing with every aspect of growth, nutrition, sex-phenomena and disease; second, treatises, half psychological, half pedagogical, presenting generic phases of the problem, with much stress on the abnormal. While on the physical side, a large body of fact is fairly well established, and on the mental side a beginning has been made in experimental studies of adolescent imagery, volition, suggestion, *aussage*, and some of the higher mental processes, on the social side the meagreness of definite knowledge is very apparent. Havelock Ellis, commenting on the primitive treatment of the adolescent, regrets the loss of primitive puberty initiations, and would advocate their revision in modern form. (21:89-90.) However one may regard the wisdom of a course that would artificially reconstruct the spontaneous creations of other peoples and cultures, we must surely agree with Marro, that in modern life we neglect the puberty of the mind. (52:1.) A comprehensive study of the treatment and reaction of the adolescent girl in modern life is therefore much needed.

The aspects of adolescence which have recently received most attention are those which concern defectives and delinquents. Almost the entire energy of scientific study of delinquency of adolescent girls has been absorbed in the pathological problem. Dating from the work of the Lombrosan school the chief aim has been to detect correlation between anatomical and neuro-

logical abnormality and the commission of crime. Scant attention has been given to the girl in relation to her social environment. (An exception is the work of Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil.*) Recently Manouvrier, member of the International Congress of Criminal Anthropology, has set forth the case histories of seven delinquents, from the Paris courts. (52:297-315, 420-438.) He emphasizes his divergence from the standpoint of Lombroso, finding in the genetic view of the formation of criminals the prime influence of sociological, rather than physiological factors. (p. 423.)

He concludes:

"La moralité consiste en une certaine orientation, une certaine systématisation dans le sens de l'honnêteté. Elle n'est point héritée parce que les tendances héritées sont purement physiologiques et que les tendances physiologiques les plus normales poussent simplement à la satisfaction des besoins par les moyens quelconques à la portée de l'individu. Les tendances pousseront à des actes contraires aux lois sociales sans être biologiquement anormales, et un état social troublé, morbide, pourra résulter d'actes qui, pour être socialement nuisibles, n'en seront pas moins réguliers et normaux du côté biologique." (52: 425.)

Detailed study, however, of a number of life histories of delinquents remains to be undertaken.*

The point of view of the "new school" of anthropology regarding race has suggestive applicability to the individual. Thus Boas attributes racial retardation, not to innate inferior capacity, but to historical experience and vicissitudes encountered in the social environment. (5:9-10.) So with social and moral retardation in the delinquent, may we not assume this inferiority explained better by reference to social experience than to inherited anatomical stigma? We must not interpret the influence of environment in mechanical fashion. As Boas points out for the race, the essential thing is the reaction. The environment is influential in so far as it tends to develop special forms of customs and beliefs. "These are, however, based primarily on cultural conditions." (5:163.) Thus it would seem that researches of modern anthropology could furnish a

* NOTE: The practical methods of the Juvenile Court and Psychological Clinic tend in this direction, but intensive individual studies have not yet been forthcoming. Work of the Bedford, New York, laboratories promises much in this rich field, under supervision of Dr. Katherine Davis.

new method to criminology as distinct from the Lombrosan method, as modern anthropology is from the older studies of "race psychology."

The essential thing in this anthropological method applied to study of delinquency, would be then, to collect complete life histories of the individual, in relation to social environment. This method was attempted by the writer in a fragmentary and preliminary study.

In co-operation with prison officials of Oregon, and the head of the Woman's Department of the Municipal police of the city of Portland, Oregon, a survey was begun in the three summer months of 1912. Twenty-five cases of delinquency among adolescent girls were personally investigated. In doubtful cases, the Binet-Simon tests for intelligence were used. As means of control, statistics were compiled of 300 court cases, extending over the years 1908-1911, of adolescent girl delinquents in charge of Mrs. L. G. Baldwin, head of the Woman's Police Department of Portland. In this the exceedingly careful records of the above department were of greatest service. In limited space of this thesis no adequate treatment can be made of the results, but the aim may be briefly illustrated. No correlation between physical defect and delinquency was apparent. Of cases personally investigated less than 2% were feeble-minded. It is important to note that in no case were these individuals under long sentence in a strictly penal institution; hence their reactions may be assumed to be more normal than would have been the case had their social tendencies been rendered artificial by prison repression.

The following cases have been selected for their relation to the treatment of the girl among primitive peoples.

Case I

Age: 30.

Present offense: Charge of vagrancy: Serving 60 days in the City Jail.

Criminal record: Arrested in Seattle, April, 1900, on vagrancy charge; petty larceny. Acquitted. Arrested 1909: Selling liquor to the Indians; for consorting with thieves; held as pickpocket: Two young girls reported to have killed themselves on account of her: Acquitted after serving minor jail sentence. Seattle, 1. 26, '09. Girl committed suicide, blame placed on H. A., Portland, 1. 8. '12. Arrested on white slave charge. Acquitted, but held as vagrant.

Case history: Obtained July, 1912: Verified by letters from girl's mother, evidence of jailors and police records.

Born: Indiana, 1882.

Nationality: Both parents born in America.

Parents: Mother married at age of 20: Age at birth of H. A. was 27; father's age 42. Both parents had common education. Occupation of father: laborer, later a small farmer. Both parents and grandparents free from disease or poverty. No criminal record for any other member of family. Age of first menses of mother: 13 years. Age of first menses of grandmother: 13 years. Labor of mother at birth of H. A. difficult. In physical appearance H. A. resembles father.

Childhood: Spent on farm. As baby acted in boyish manner. In early childhood excelled in games of skill and strength. Tractable, even disposition. Preferred out of door work, did plowing, general farm work. Had no sickness, nor children's diseases.

Brothers: 1.

Sisters: 1. Age of first menstruation, 13 years.

Education: Through grades of common school.

Age of first menstruation: 15 years. Mother noticed no change in her boyish disposition at this time. Health continued good. Shortly after puberty, H. A. married a man several years older. There was a child born, a boy now 13 years of age, in sound health. Boy lives with H. A.'s mother. Is now pubescent.

Soon after birth of this child, the father either died or deserted. H. A. was forced to contribute to child's support. She left home, endeavored to find work, but could earn only small sum as domestic servant, waitress, etc.

She then put on man's attire, and did a man's work in farms, lumber camps, freight depots, stables, dock yards, and cattle ranches, earning a man's full wage. When her sex was discovered, she was arrested, and forced to move on. In those cities where it is not a criminal offense to wear clothing of the opposite sex, she was watched by the police, continually arrested on petty charges, which in every case were dismissed. She served sentences as vagrant in these cases. In the Portland police court when sentenced to 60 days as vagrant, she said to the judge: "You call me vagrant; let me out for one hour in the yards or docks, and I'll get a job that will prove I am no vag." Though this privilege is accorded to men and boys so situated it was refused H. A. Hence her criminal record appears to be result of discrimination. She steadfastly refuses to wear woman's clothes, declaring that it is impossible for her to earn an honest and adequate living while dressed as a woman.

She possesses unusual musical ability, can play several musical instruments, and has a baritone voice of pleasing quality. She has been offered engagements with vaudeville companies. These she refuses because of her love of open air work. While she remains in the country, she is unmolested by the police, but when she comes to the cities, detectives soon find her out. Both matrons of jails where she

has served Portland sentences speak highly of her character. She is a favorite among the prisoners, but does not exhibit homo-sexual tendencies.

Charge that she ruins girls with whom she comes in contact, and is in fact a "white slaver," is not supported by evidence; several cases exist where H. A. has taken to her room at night girls unable to find work, girls evicted from their rooms by landlords, and girls found drunk in saloons, or soliciting on the streets in such an amateur manner as to assure her that they were new to prostitution. She has returned two girls to their homes from brothels. Of the truth of the charge that two girls committed suicide because of their infatuation with her, I have been able to discover nothing.

One girl committed suicide on the date given above; there is evidence that she was in an advanced stage of syphilis, was evicted from a sporting house in utter destitution, and was cared for by H. A.

At the time of latest arrest, H. A. was in company of a young woman who had left husband and two children in Seattle, and was living in a rooming house with H. A. It was impossible to discover their relations; the woman was seeking a divorce from her husband.

To sum up criminal record: Arrests since adolescence seem to have been due to attitude of society to her non-conformity to conventions, rather than to criminal tendencies. Associations with common criminals in city jails, prostitutes, petty thieves, drug users, alcoholics—have given her experience of lower class social conditions, and a certain insight into adolescent phases of delinquency, which may prove helpful to the investigator.

Personal traits: Tall (roughly 5 ft. 9 in.). Weight (in normal condition), 160 lbs. In jail about 130. Dark hair, fine quality, cut short, slightly thick. Dark eyes; regular features; clear olive skin. Looks younger than years, is usually thought to be about 23 or 24 years old. Wears masculine clothes with ease; muscles of hips and shoulders well developed. Breasts slightly under normal development, but rounded. No growth of hair on face—lip and chin normal in this respect. Hands and feet large, but well shaped. Nails of fingers delicate. General muscular development greater than average youth of 20.

Mental development: So far as hasty use of Binet test (revised) shows, is a normal adult. Attention good: Memory span normal: Comprehension normal or above. Has alert, forceful manner of speaking, gesturing, etc., but shows few secondary masculine characteristics. Has well developed aesthetic sense. Reads Browning as favorite poet; reads rather widely in fiction. Does not appear over developed emotionally; lacks the excitability of the usual homosexual type.

Remarks: The problem of the psychic sex-phenomena of H. A. is unsolved. Physically a preliminary examination fails to reveal marked abnormality. It is clear that she has been discriminated against socially, in her endeavor to escape economic pressure. She prefers society of women to men, but has friends of both sexes. It is clear that she has

sympathy and insight for the women of the underworld, and has done something for their welfare.

What significance should be attached to the fact that she arrived at the age of puberty two years later than the other members of her family, whose ages have been available, is undetermined. If life in the open favors the prolongation of infancy, we might discover some co-relation here.

Compare treatment of this case with primitive treatment of the socially or physically inverted adolescent. (25:88; 58.)

Case II

Age: 20.

Present offense: Charge of murder in first degree: Convicted Sept., 1912, of manslaughter. No previous criminal record.

Details of crime: Girl, while living with a chauffeur in a cheap rooming house, lured to their room a young man, keeper of a cigar store and restaurant. The girl had planned to rob him of money which he freely had displayed. To this end she had purchased sleeping powders to put in his glass of beer. At midnight he came into her room at her invitation, but refused to drink. In the meantime X., the chauffeur, was concealed in the closet to watch the affair. The visitor became violent, and was in the act of throwing the girl to the floor, when X., seizing a bolt of iron, wrapped it in some clothes, rushed from the closet and struck the man a blow on the skull. He died instantly.

The girl then took the keys from his pocket and went into the street to rob the till. Only a handful of change was found. X. and the girl, after spending the night in the room, left the next morning and escaped from the city. Later they were apprehended in another city.

When arrested B. confessed the crime in all details, and assumed the entire blame. She attempted to shield X., and indeed rendered her own case hopeless from the outset.

While being held for trial in the county jail she gave the investigator the following data; later these data were proved correct by evidence in the trial, and by independent investigation.

Case history:

Nationality: Born in America: Parents both of German descent, one at least, born in Germany.

Family: B., youngest daughter in family of 8 children. All healthy. All girls matured before age of 14. Mother at age of 12. At birth of B. mother was 35; father was 42.(?) No criminal record for any other member of family. No other child either delinquent or dependent. Occupation of father: Unskilled laborer, later artisan. Family environment was good; no poverty. Associations of family were good; many members of German church and clubs.

Education: Parents: Common school. B: Common school: Three years of High School. School record extremely good.

Occupation: Cash girl in department store: Waiter: Sales-girl in department store: Chorus girl in Dance Hall.

Physical traits: Height: 5 ft. 3 in. (roughly). Weight: 120 lbs. Fair hair and skin. Eyes, light blue. Pretty, but with firm and resolute expression. Mouth, hard. Manner, direct and alert, without boldness.

General appearance as regards dress and bearing: simple, in good taste, unaffected, refined, immaculately neat: Nails, delicately manicured, and well formed. Hair, worn in simplest manner. No trace of use of rouge. Appear about 18 years of age.

General mental traits: Intelligence above average. Passed Binet test. Showed unusual comprehension of general topics, of abstractions, and of causes and consequences of her own condition. Showed traits of obstinacy and violent temper. Reserved, but believe this to be due to her abnormal situation and worry rather than usual characteristic.

Non-emotional, and free from any trace of hysteria, or nervous excitement; but fully aware of seriousness of her crime. Endeavored to commit suicide by jumping from the roof of the County Jail, when taken there for exercise; but this done from conviction of hers that sentence would be the death penalty, rather than from nervous or mental breakdown. B. apparently mentally and physically normal, or above average. Influence of menstrual period seems insignificant; at time of murder was in the 14th day of the monthly cycle. Has never been ill sexually.

In order to obtain her personal record it was necessary to explain that this investigation hoped to collect material useful in keeping such a young girl, as she herself had been five years before, from the track which she had taken. It was pointed out to her that she was in possession of facts about the world which no one else could possibly know, and that the only "square thing" to do for the other girl, was to disclose this information, before she passed out of the world. (In other cases, the personal appeal to individual advantage was sufficient to obtain all data, but B. responded only to this social stimulus.) In various interviews the following information was obtained.

B. had a healthy and normal childhood. Children's diseases: Scarlet fever, easy recovery; measles, not severe. Age of first menstruation, 12.

On the day she was 16, she was overpowered by her cousin, a boy two years older, a favorite, who lived in her father's house. This affair was due to no attachment of romantic nature on either side; nor was there any passion in the girl. Up to this time her sex-knowledge was confined to the most elementary facts of periodicity and birth. There was no conception.

B. disclosed the facts to no one, because of love borne her cousin by the family. She became moody, sullen, ill-tempered; as she expressed it, "I could think of nothing else, I dreamed of it, and was horribly afraid; it was impossible to go to school, or to meet new people." Her family in the meantime became hostile to her changed attitude; they began criticism and rebukes.

In this crisis B. met young people of a fast set. She craved excitement,

diversion, stimulants. She was induced to leave home, and having obtained work in a department store lived in a city room with girl friends.

She received $4 a week; although the girls pooled their funds they were unable to pay their bills. There were offers of domestic service, but these were refused, "as none of the girls had come from a servant class." All of them went to the wall.

B. accepted offer of a man to accompany him to San Francisco. Later he fell in love with her and wished to marry her. She consented. Before marriage a young girl was discovered by B. to be pregnant as result of intimacy with the man she was about to marry.

"I let him go. I urged him to marry the other girl, for though I have no passion myself, I recognize it in others. He married her. I had little to lose—only my living—while she had a baby perhaps. Afterwards I regretted it, for I nearly starved in San Francisco. I could get nothing to do, even street work. Twice I worked in families; once they paid me no wages, and once they discharged me for being so poorly trained that I could not satisfy them. Then I went absolutely to the bad. I didn't go into a crib and I did not work the streets, but I worked in a dance hall on the Barbary Coast in San Francisco."

Minute evidence of the truth of these facts was obtained at the trial, and by letters, etc.

In this dance hall B. met with X., an ex-soldier and sporting man. He worked as chauffeur. B. fell in love with him; the only man who had reached her need. With him she came to Portland; at her request they delayed marriage until they could save enough to build a home. They came to Portland at the incident of the labor troubles of the winter of 1912. X. could find no work.

"I believe now that he could have found work; but I didn't think so then. He tried, but he didn't hunt for the right kind. He, too, had never had training in anything. I got work in a department store; a sales-girl at $8.00 a week. Out of this sum I had to wear a fresh laundered shirt waist every morning. We had little to eat, and before we did for W., we had had nothing for several hours, and the landlord had given us notice to quit. He told us to get out and hustle. This W. was a cad who had hung around me for some time, trying to make a date, and showing off his money. I invited him up to the room. But he wouldn't drink; we had no idea he would be killed; when I screamed for help, X. rushed up and hit him."

"In reality the whole thing was my fault, because if I had opposed it it never would have happened; my will was always the stronger; X. always did what I said in the end."

These cases clearly illustrate the operation of social environment and the lack of adequate safeguard and outlet at the period of puberty. In both, the essential traits manifested are energy, activity, independence. This normal character of adolescence imperatively requires outlet and expression. (8: 181, 193.) It is sufficient to recall the treatment of adolescents

among primitive peoples to see how adequately under primitive conditions this provision is made.

IX. *Conclusions*

From the facts presented in this limited survey of an exceedingly widespread field, it becomes evident that no general theory of the origin and function of primitive modes of treatment of the adolescent girl can be maintained. An inclusive theory seems impossible because of extreme variation. Much of these data belong, as we have discovered, to such different aspects of thought and feeling that it cannot easily be compared. To group these facts together without context, would do violence to the conditions of primitive life. Recognition then, of the diversity of the problem, is the first needful conclusion.

As we have seen, this variation is of four kinds: (1) in ethnological distribution of attention to the onset of puberty in girls; here we encounter such extremes as exist between the Veddas and Australians within the same range of culture, or as among the native tribes of California, where peoples of identical cultural and somatic type, inhabiting the same region, show one group who do not observe puberty in any way, between two groups where the girls' puberty ceremonial is the supreme social event. Therefore we find no correlation between race and culture and attention to puberty. (2) Variation exists in the mode of treatment. This ranges from the merest objective mark to the most profound social and religious implication. (3) The time at which the "puberty" ceremonial is held varies greatly. Just as physical puberty varies in its time of onset, with climate, nutrition, race, heredity, occupation and social class, etc., so the social rite may occur at different periods, owing to wealth or poverty of the parents, convenience, social rank, weather, etc., or may be delayed until a sufficient number of girls have matured. Cases of physical precocity have their social analogues in ceremonies of rebirth that may take place at the age of three or four. (A-Kikuyu, Routledge, p. 151.) Retardation is also present, but more rarely. Puberty, however, may be merely an approximate sign that certain years of training must begin. We conclude that the term "puberty," as applied to a physical stage, can be extended only by convention, to the ceremonies that attend such

diverse events as social or religious maturity. (4) Great variation is displayed in the explanations of the function of "puberty"-ceremonies. Thoughts and interests of every social class are represented. Certainly we cannot ascribe this complexity of motives to any one principle, such as totemism, animism, sex-attraction, solidarity and the like.

In spite of this variation, when we seek to reduce the facts to their simplest general terms, three tendencies seem to immerge. These may be described as factors which emphasize periodicity, individuation, and *"symbiosis."*

A. *Periodicity.*

This is apparent in two ways, first in care taken to establish a cycle of alternate activity and rest. The cycle is marked in numerous ways, such as seclusion, change of food habits, freedom from work, release from social intercourse, and in various primitive hygienic devices. Here much is obscure and crude, and there are many exceptions; it cannot be doubted, however, that a tendency exists in primitive treatment of the adolescent girl to secure and stress normal periodicity. The second element in this tendency is psychological. Periodicity in adolescent mental development is indicated in many primitive rites. We need not assume this recognition as fully conscious and deliberate. It has been noted that the girl is treated now like a child, washed, fed, cradled, breathed upon, guarded, punished, now like an adult, admitted to responsibilities and privileges sometimes determining as with the Seri and Shasta, the destiny of others. This range of treatment may occur with the same people. Thus there is emphasized the alternating levels of adolescent mental growth, with all its disharmonies, periods of latency and intermediate stages. Modern studies have recognized this inequality of growth in both ethical and psychological aspects (53; compare also 35), but primitive peoples have apparently succeeded in giving the conception symbolic and concrete expression.

Closely related to the emphasis given normal physical and mental periodicity is primitive recognition of the abnormal. The psychoses of puberty receive much attention. Yet we must not fail to discriminate the meaning of the fact that no observance of puberty occurs as a unique rite, detached from all other ceremonial events in the life of the individual. Hence

when the abnormal aspects of puberty are evident, they appear as "rites de passage," in the sense of van Gennep. In this, primitive thought does not lag far behind the modern conception of the subordinate rôle of puberty as the *cause* of neurosis. For example, Janet notes that, "The neuroses appear almost always at the ages in which the organic and mental transformation is the most accentuated, at puberty, marriage, the death of intimate relatives or friends, the changes of career or of position."

B. *Individuation.*

The tendency of primitive observance of puberty to mark and set forth the individuality of the girl is very apparent. Isolation from the group, seclusion, living in separate dwelling, eating separate meals, etc., find at least one root of explanation in the arrival of the girl at independent personal status. More explicit is the freedom granted, sometimes in complete measure. Decorations, badges, mutilations serve also as individual devices to mark out the girl from common humanity and other groups and generations (29). So, too, disappearance from usual activities, setting forth into forest on mountains, leaving home, etc., are similar in function. This has been recognized for the boy by many writers, but overlooked in case of girls. The acquisition of a guardian spirit, the importance conceded to visions, moods and dreams, are other conspicuous examples of emphasis placed upon the personal life of this period. Ordeals, tests of personal skill and endurance, chance for demonstration of ability in diverse fields, all furnish to the girl among primitive peoples, outlet for the great access of energy and individuality so characteristic of adolescence (8).

C. *Symbiosis.**

By this term is meant that tendency which unites the individual with all elements of the environment as a whole.

This tendency is everywhere present in primitive treatment of the adolescent girl. In spite of extreme variation it is the one element to universally emerge. Assimilation of the girl

* Symbiosis is thus used by Dr. A. F. Chamberlain to illustrate processes of socialization in the group, and of affiliation of the human group with the animal and cosmic world. Clark University Lectures in Anthropology, 1912.

to the generic life of her people is brought about first by her entrance to the social life of her sex, next by her initiation into sexual life, in its physical, social and spiritual significance, and finally she is brought into relation with the forces of nature. Under one of these three forms of symbiosis the vast majority of primitive modes of treatment have their function.

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